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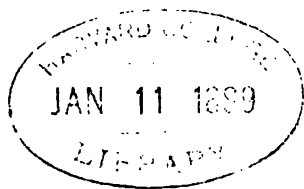
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ARTICLE I.—THE LATE PROFESSOR GREEN OF OXFORD — THE “DOCTOR GREY” OF “ROBERT ELSMERE.”

Works of Thomas Hill Green, late Fellow of Balliol College, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford, edited by R. L. NETTLESHIP, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Vol. III, *Miscellanies and Memoir*, with a portrait. London, Longmans, Green, and Company, and New York, 15 East Sixteenth street.

EIGHT months ago, had the question been asked, who was Thomas Hill Green? the answer would have been somewhat as follows: He was one of the ablest philosophical writers of the present generation and also one of the most effective agents for good in the University of Oxford, in various directions, specu-

lative and practical; a man whose influence moreover will for many years survive his untimely death. At that time the question and its answer would have interested only here and there a solitary reader. But it is far otherwise now when the answer to our question is: Mr. Green is Dr. Grey of "Robert Elsmere," the wise *Sir Oracle* of the tale, who was resorted to by its hero for needed counsel in the hour of his extremest necessity, and who is named with supreme confidence by the gifted author of the story as the object of her special regard, and of whom she more than intimates that he had long ago decided against the claims of the supernatural in the Christian history—which decision should be taken as authoritative and final.

It is altogether timely that just at this time the memoir of Professor Green should be given to the public in the last volume of his works. This memoir is admirable of its kind, prepared as it was with the careful and sympathizing fidelity of his associate for many years in Balliol College. And yet he writes under the constraint which is imposed by the desire on the one hand to allow Mr. Green and his friends to speak for themselves, and on the other to avoid any appearance of partisanship with respect to the opinions of his honored colleague and friend. This constraint is so obvious and pressing as to give an air of stiffness and reserve to a narrative which otherwise is picturesque with lively descriptions and glowing with personal sympathy. It is no secret to any one who is only superficially acquainted with the internal history of thought and feeling at Oxford—a story of controversy and debate—during the thirty years in which Professor Green was an inmate of Balliol College that essential changes have taken place in its intellectual and practical life and that to some of these changes Professor Green has given an important, if not a decisive, impulse. That Mr. Nettleship has designed to be evenly and severely veracious and just is evident upon every page and in every line. It is almost equally patent that this purpose has interfered somewhat with the vivacity and glow of which the narrative was capable and to which it almost of necessity impelled. Whatever disappointment we may feel that the narrative is less vivacious than we might desire is more than

counterbalanced by the modest and cautious and even-handed justice that seems to have controlled every description and statement.

Mr. Green was born in 1836, at Birkin, in Yorkshire, W. R., a country parish of which his father was Rector. It is worthy of notice as accounting somewhat for many things in his character and opinions, that an ancestor married as his first wife a grand-daughter of Oliver Cromwell and afterwards a daughter of one of Cromwell's officers, Colonel Sanders. His mother died in his infancy, and he was left to the controlling influence of his father who is characterized as "the best friend of his childhood—a man who combined deep religious feeling, unencumbered with dogmatic learning, with native eloquence, love for the peasantry, a keen interest in politics and humorous observation of men," all of them characteristics which were certain to form a congenial atmosphere for such a receptive nature as that of the son. From the first, he gave signs of marked individuality, rather in the form of a stubborn self-reliance in honest ways than of any flights of genius. At fourteen, he went to Rugby under Principal Goulburn, where he remained for five years till he went to Oxford, and where he earned no brilliant distinction, but developed more fully and consistently the self-reliance of his childhood—generally in fidelity to his school tasks, yet somewhat modified by an inconvenient unconformability to the ways of his fellows and of his instructors. Among other characteristic things recorded of him is this, that among four hundred boys he was the only water drinker. By this time he begins to have opinions of his own and looks forward to Oxford with no "glowing anticipations of its attractions or admiring estimate of the industry or aims of its inmates." It would seem that up to this time he had not yet fallen in with any either books or men who were fitted strongly or permanently to affect his opinions or his character, but was still feeling about in an indefinite yet predestined fashion for the elements which would be congenial to his life. These he found at last in Balliol College, of which he had become a member, and which was then stirring with the beginnings of that intellectual life which its now distinguished Master has been the means of so effectively awakening in its

instructors and students, and to which Green in his time gave an impulse which was unique of its kind. It does not appear from the narrative that he had at first any special interest in the studies or authors which were used by the tutors or were prescribed by the examiners, but that he gradually connected with these tasks of routine, researches and studies which awakened an intellectual and moral interest on the part of his pupils over and above any arising from their relations to university examinations and honors. We know from other sources that, during his university life, the controversies and discussions which grew out of the Tractarian movement had gradually been superseded by the more fundamental inquiries which concern the historical truthfulness and supernatural trustworthiness of the evangelical story and that the temporary interest which had been awakened by Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer had compelled a re-examination of the received philosophy of Locke and the imposing terminology of Kant and Hegel, so that the profoundest discussions of these themes were found to be altogether *en règle*, under the large discretion which was assumed and allowed by the men in authority. Whatever may have been the possible or the actual abuses of the English university system in its diversified history, the fact is unquestioned that at times it has been a most effective agent for good through its instructors and pupils in the great movements of thought which have characterized or rather which have created English history. The influence of Professor Green is a striking example of this truth. It is not easy to explain this except by a minute and attenuated detail which would be well nigh useless and unintelligible to those who are not acquainted with the operation of the system. And yet some light may penetrate the most darkened understanding which will follow the course of Professor Green, as recorded by his biographer.

It was in 1855 that he had entered Balliol, which for many obvious reasons would naturally attract a young man of his principles and temperament. Here he fell under the influence and was attracted by the society of Jowett, then a Fellow and Professor, and afterwards, and now, its accomplished Master. Professor Conington and Mr. Charles Parker are also named as among the intimate associates who discovered his promise and

endeavored to awaken his energies and to concentrate his studies. They were in a measure successful. In 1859 he gained a First Class. In 1860 he was employed as a lecturer on ancient and modern history, and in 1860 he was elected Fellow. To Professor Jowett he felt himself the most indebted and from 1860 to 1866 the two were most closely united. With Conington he was usually associated in the summer reading parties in which he rejoiced in the freshness of nature's beauty and luxuriansness and still more in the rough simplicity of the thoughtful country people with whom the two were brought into contact. Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Maurice are named as authors in English literature with whom, at that time, Green especially sympathized. Politics in the noble ethical sense of the term might be said to have been very early the engrossing theme of his speculative meditations, and the Family, the State, and the Church to have been recognized by him as divine institutions—veritable revelations from God and requiring on the part of man ethical and religious homage and affection—by a theory in which seemed to be blended the poetry of Chivalry, the prose of Radicalism, and the consecration of Religion. This theory he was always ready to expound and defend, but as might be expected it was stupid prose or empty declamation in the judgment of the most of the declaimers and listeners at the debates of the Oxford Union. His political sympathies and antipathies were by no means ideal only. Louis Napoleon he stigmatizes as "a successful brigand," and Palmerston, as the most mischievous man in England, while John Bright he glorifies as one of the noblest. In short, his political creed was, at that time, transfigured into a religion, or as his biographer expresses it: "The strongest elements in Green's nature seem to have been the sense of public duty and the sense of religious dependence, and in the creeds of modern toleration and modern evangelicalism he found a congenial language which he had no difficulty in translating when he wished into that of German metaphysics," and adds: "The passages quoted above indicate the position at which he had arrived at the age of four and twenty and which he never really abandoned. The idea of a free personality exercising its freedom under conditions which it has itself created formed the meeting point for his political and religious aspirations."

After obtaining his fellowship, his future occupation for life naturally began to occupy his thoughts. Under the natural drift of circumstances and the persuasive influence of Mr. Jowett, he by degrees became more and more firmly nested in Balliol and here he remained till his death, with more variety and enlargement of his sphere of instruction and influence, with more and more of definite purpose in his studies and labors, and an immense augmentation of his capacity to influence young men in the way of personal intercourse. Perhaps no portion of the inner life of the University of Oxford has been of late more critical than during his residence as an instructor. That in many respects his influence was most salutary, cannot be questioned. As a philosopher and philosophical critic he was strikingly able. His critical examinations of Locke and Berkeley and Hume, of Stuart Mill and Spencer and Lewes and Kant, are acknowledged to be masterly and will be regarded as essential to the library of every thorough student of the present phases of philosophical thought. Though needlessly elaborate and diffuse they will be read till they are superseded by simpler and more condensed presentations of the many fundamental truths which they assert and defend—many of which these criticisms were the first to set in a light so strong and so convincing that hereafter they will not be easily overlooked or denied. What they were and how they were defended we do not propose to explain. We choose to limit ourselves to a brief exposition of Green's ethical system and the application which he made of it to the Christian evidences and Christian theology.

In a form somewhat condensed this ethical theory may be stated as follows :

"The central conception of the universe of being is a single eternal activity of which it is the essence to be self-conscious, i. e., to be itself and not itself in one. Of this activity every particular existence is a limited manifestation and among other such existences those which we call ourselves. In so far as there is a we at all and a world which we call ours, it is because the self which is the unity of the world is 'communicated' under the conditions of our physical organization. It is this fact, the fact of a self-conditioned or free energy acting under limiting conditions, which makes our experiences a continual

self-contradiction between what we are and what we have it in us to be."

"The conception of self-consciousness as the ultimate reality, is one to which we are led by reflection upon our own experiences, or in other words, by asking ourselves what we mean by a fact. It makes no difference whether fact be taken in the minimum or the maximum of its meaning, whether as the simplest possible fact, as 'something' or as the highly complex facts covered by such words as 'science, art, morality, or as the all-inclusive fact which we call 'the world.' At whatever point it is considered, it is found to consist in relationship and relationships. It is through these relationships that God makes himself known to us more and more distinctly. It is by conforming ourselves more and more completely to them that we are ethically united to God."

This brief statement of the underlying metaphysics of Green's system, abridged from the words of his biographer, may prepare us to understand how it was possible for him to hold that in ethics we must assume a self-conscious being acting through each free being and manifesting himself more and more distinctly through the relationships which connect man with man and man with God, as man proceeds towards that complete harmony which ensues when knowledge is complete and love is perfect, or, as we take the liberty to add in the opposite direction, when dissonance and alienation prevail. This statement of Green's theory may seem dry and unfruitful as the seared and withered leaves of autumn, but held as a living faith by himself it was germinant with ever-springing life, wide-reaching enough to meet every exigency, a formula of duty sufficiently inspiring to breathe life beneath the ribs of death.

In the remarks which follow, it will be understood that our object is not so much to show how he held and applied his theory, as it is to show how his theory explains the man.

One remark seems to be here in place and indeed to be required for the full and fair understanding of his fundamental philosophy, and that is, that it is not the same with Hegelianism as it is often interpreted, as a system which substitutes thought and thought relations for persons and things, and which resolves the universe of fact into a self-developed structure

of logical entities. No better explanation of the differences between the two systems can be found than is furnished in the few brief and pointed strictures made by our author in a short criticism of Principal J. Caird's Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion.

"To assume, because all reality requires thought to conceive it, that therefore thought is the condition of its existence, is, indeed, unwarrantable. But it is another matter if, when we come to examine the constituents of that which we account real—the determinations of things—we find that they all imply some synthetic action which we only know as exercised by our own spirit."

"But when we have satisfied ourselves that the world in its truth or full reality is spiritual, because on no other supposition is its unity explicable, we may still have to confess that a knowledge of it in its spiritual reality—such a knowledge of it as would be a knowledge of God—is impossible to us. To know God we must be God. The unifying principle of the world is indeed in us; it is our self. But, as in us, it is so conditioned by a particular animal nature that, while it yields that idea of the world as one which regulates all our knowledge, our actual knowledge remains a piecemeal process. We spell out the relations of things one by one; we pass from condition to condition, from effect to effect; but, as one fragment of truth is grasped, another has escaped us, and we never reach that totality of apprehension through which alone we could know the world as it is and God in it. This is the infirmity of our discursive understanding. If in one sense it reveals God, in another it hides him. Language which seems to imply its identification with God, or with the world in its spiritual reality, can lead to nothing but confusion." p. 145.

We are far from asserting that Professor Green was always clear or self-consistent in the exposition of his own system. We would rather say that the personal and practical sympathies of the man had quite as much to do with his convictions and his practical principles as had his metaphysical theories. While on the one hand he delighted in thinking and was entirely at home in the intellectual activities of patient analysis and adventurous synthesis, he was equally interested, on the other, in the practical conclusions to which his daring and adventurous logic would conduct him. A reverent conservatism and a reckless radicalism seem to have been the impulses which conspired to lift him to the heights of bold speculation and of patient and persevering action. Hence he was often unpopular or rather he was always prepared, we had almost said he was

uniformly impelled, to espouse an unpopular cause. And as it never fails to be true that what is conceived to be radicalism in politics, philosophy, and religion attracts more or less attention by reason of the simple oddity of its antagonism, a temper like Green's could not fail to attach himself to an ample number of singular if not unpopular parties. We have already noticed that when at Rugby he was alone among four hundred boys as a water drinker, and also that somewhat early in his university life he dared to idolize John Bright, the man of all others who would least of all expect to find a following in the walks and halls which are so redolent of Toryism. What is more remarkable was the early and ardent interest which he took in our own civil war and the bold and sturdy patience with which, from the beginning to the end, he defended the cause of freedom and the Union against a host of natural and factitious opponents. What is, perhaps, still more remarkable, is the interest which he felt in that other "Great Rebellion," the civil war in which so many of England's noblest sons were engaged, and in which so many of her choicest spirits sealed their faith on the field or the scaffold.

The editor scarcely needed to apologize for the publication of the lectures on "The English Revolution," or "The English Commonwealth," as the running title has it. If those lectures render no other service, they are a fervent and outspoken confession of the author's political ideals and his political faith and furnish the key to much of his public conduct. The reader of them finds no difficulty in tracing the influences of his relationship to Cromwell and Cromwell's Colonel Sanders, or in finding in his ardent idealism a kinship with Sir Harry Vane, that noblest idealist whom Milton commemorates, and England and America each claims as its own. The concluding sentences of this course are fraught with suggestive meaning.

"Two palpable benefits the short triumph of puritanism did win for England. It saved it from the catholic reaction, and it created the "dissenting bodies." If it seems but a poor change from the fanatic sacerdotalism of Laud to the genteel and interested sacerdotalism of modern English churchmanship, yet the fifteen years of vigorous growth which Cromwell's sword secured for the church of the sectaries, gave it a permanent force which no reaction could suppress, and which has since been the great spring of political life in

England. The higher enthusiasm, however, which breathed in Cromwell and Vane, was not puritanic or English merely. It belonged to the universal spiritual force which as ecstasy, mysticism, quietism, philosophy, is in permanent collision with the carnal interests of the world, and which, if it conquers them for a moment, yet again sinks under them, that it may transmute them more thoroughly to its service. "Death," said Vane on the scaffold, "is a little word, but it is a great work to die." So his own enthusiasm died that it might rise again. It was sown in the weakness of feeling, that it might be raised in the intellectual comprehension which is power. "The people of England," he said again, "have been long asleep. I doubt they will be hungry when they awake." They have slept, we may say, another two hundred years. If they should yet wake and be hungry, they will find their food in the ideas which, with much blindness and weakness, he vainly offered them, cleared and ripened by a philosophy of which he did not dream." p. 364.

The fact should not be overlooked that these lectures were delivered in 1867, before the writer had as yet fought his way into a position in which he could be fearless of consequences and command respect for his opinions however unpopular they might be.

Mr. Green's interest in education, both in the school and university, was eminently characteristic. He was sensitively alive to the fact that a large portion of the population of England who by reason of their wealth might naturally ask for the higher education and use it most advantageously for themselves and their fellows, were practically shut out from the charmed walks upon which they might gaze, but within which they could not enter. The son of a university man, educated at Rugby and at Oxford, crowned with University honors and sharing in University emoluments, he had the rare insight and the still rarer sympathetic generosity which are thus described by his biographer:

"Middle-class education" has come to be understood as the kind of education which, being divorced from the universities, having no stimulus from government inspection, and being generally conducted merely with a view to commercial profit by the principals, is seldom either of a thorough or of an elevating kind. On the other side the term "education of a gentleman," like the term "gentleman" itself, has acquired a meaning unknown in any other countries. The term would be intelligible if it retained the meaning of a man of a certain lineage, or of a man holding a landed estate according to a certain tenure. It would be intelligible again if it meant a man habitually

honorable in feeling, conduct, and speech. But with us nowadays it means neither of these things. It seems chiefly to indicate a kind of manner and tone of feeling acquired by those educated at the miscalled "public schools," and borrowed from them with more or less perfectness of imitation by others. I do not depreciate the value of this manner and tone of feeling, but I regret that it should be a mark of social distinction. Whatever is really of value in it should be characteristic of all men of liberal education. A properly organized system of schools would level up without levelling down. It would not make the gentleman any the less of a gentleman in the higher sense of the term, but it would cure him of his unconscious social insolence just as it would cure others of social jealousy. To promote such a system by the establishment of a high school in his own town was his last public act, and almost his last public utterance was the expression of a hope that the time will come "when the phrase 'education of a gentleman' will have lost its meaning, because the sort of education which alone makes the gentleman in any true sense will be within the reach of all. As it was the aspiration of Moses that all the Lord's people should be prophets, so with all seriousness and reverence we may hope and pray for a condition of English society in which all honest citizens will recognize themselves and be recognized by each other as gentlemen."

—*Memoir*, pp. lvii-lviii.

To overcome these evils, he labored faithfully and persistently during the last and the best years of his life. He fought these social difficulties manfully and sturdily where they were most deeply rooted and had become entwined with all that was sacred in religion, venerable in learning, and honored in tradition, that is, in Oxford itself, and this not by declamation or discussion merely but by patient experiment, in the High and Middle Class Schools of the city. Whether or not the ideal at which he aspired is attainable in any country may be open to question, but whether it is or is not, the spirit in which he labored was eminently humane and Christian. Had Mr. Matthew Arnold been animated more warmly by a similar spirit, had he made less fun of the Philistines whose defects he satirized so amusingly, and sought to treat their defects in a temper somewhat more practical, by means of systematic and radical reforms in the public education of Great Britain, he would have added a somewhat more brilliant luster to his deservedly brilliant fame.

We find ourselves insensibly yet necessarily brought to the most difficult yet the most interesting portion of our task, the delineation of Professor Green's theory of religion and the

Christian Revelation. We do not wonder that his biographer has found it difficult to reduce this theory to a few comprehensive statements, or to reproduce it in the ordinary terminology of creeds and confessions, of dogmas and systems. One thing is certain, that the opinions which constitute its underlying philosophy were held in all seriousness and were applied to all the problems of thinking and living. Whatever we may think of the religious philosophy of Professor Green we cannot doubt that it pervaded and controlled all his thinking and that it was to him a faith by which he would live and die.

We have already referred to his doctrine of the natural and necessary recognition of God as a self-conscious spirit, enforcing obligation in the several relations of human life, and capable of being intensified till He should be a controlling and ever present force. Of the incarnation he held that "Jesus of Nazareth was God and man, not because his physical birth and death took place under conditions impossible to the normal human organization but on the contrary because, having the normal human organization in its entirety, he realized in and through it his absolute union with God and became in actual fact what all men have in them potentially to become. This 'divinization' of humanity, this 'incarnation' took place in Him at a certain time and place, under special historical conditions, which the gospel narrative enables us partially but only partially to reconstruct." Thus writes Mr. Green's biographer in a condensed summary of his theory of the Incarnation. From Professor Green's *Essay on Christian Dogma*, we gather much more, which bears directly upon the sources of our knowledge of the Christ of the first century and the impression which he made upon his generation when living and upon Paul after the termination of his earthly life. That in this theory there are *lacunæ valde defendæ* can hardly escape the notice of any thoughtful reader, who is only moderately gifted with "the historic sense." That Professor Green should attach little or no importance to the impression which the actual personality of Jesus, as well as his claims for himself, must have made upon every receptive mind—and indeed in the way of reaction upon the unreceptive—is to us incomprehensible. We are sim-

ply astonished at the slight historical value which he attaches to the records of his sayings or doings, indeed, to any reproductions of his human life, especially of the definite claims or assertions which Christ makes for himself. He also overlooks the enormous probability that all Palestine was full of verbal reports of the sayings and doings of this wonderful personage which must have been everywhere current till the siege and overthrow of the Jewish capitol. Next he dares to assert from Paul's own testimony, that his own conversion occurred "in spite of ignorance (this is the necessary inference from his own language) of the facts of our Lord's life prior to his death as detailed in the synoptical gospels, etc."

"Christ, according to his own language, was made known to him by revelation, but by such a revelation, judging by his own description of its effects in the epistle to the Galatians, as might be vouchsafed, without a voice from heaven, or a light above the brightness of the sun, to any like spirit brooding on the bare facts of the death and resurrection of the Divine Son of man."

We do not need to cite the fervent and eloquent language with which Professor Green repeats the same thoughts, to enforce the inquiry whether inferences like these can be justified by any rational psychological theory or any accredited history of human experience. That man has a spiritual and moral nature we do not for a moment question; that he has an intuitive consciousness of God and is more or less actually alive to his needs as related to God we will neither question nor deny—but that the imagination of man could evolve from its own spiritual consciousness such an object of wonder and worship, or invest with the dignity of manifested truth, such paradoxical claims for himself as are reported to have fallen from the lips of Jesus, is of itself so clearly impossible as at once to be regarded as simply incredible. The convictions of the human intellect upon this single point seem to us to be practically unanimous, and practically incapable of change. To the radical and incautious theory of Professor Green we can only find a parallel in the products of those seething brains which were so active in the days of the Great Rebellion, when the lips of many a gallant colonel and doughty sergeant claimed

to be inspired in the eminent sense of this much abused term. We doubt not that many as eloquent an utterance of theosophic speculation fell from the lips of some of Cromwell's officers when exalted to the prophetic mood, as ever dropped from the pen of Professor Green in his loftiest visions. It were perhaps more exact to find a striking likeness to them in the discourses of some of the so-called Cambridge men of the same period who sought to Christianize the speculations and language of the Platonic school, and to harmonize the philosophy of the times with a comprehensive Catholic theology. But whatever we may think of the permanent value of Professor Green's contribution to Christian thought and however severely we may judge his theological speculations, we cannot but recognize the value of his services to Christian truth in the inroads which he made upon the "*unspiritual ecclesiasticism*" which has long held sway in Oxford and through Oxford over much of the Protestant world.

We confess that theories like those of Professor Green, sound strangely enough as coming from Oxford, and yet there is perhaps no center of speculation where they might render a more efficient and useful service. So far as the discussion of them shall awaken the attention of its students to the uses and abuses of dogmatic theology and of scholastic creeds, to the relation of Biblical conceptions and philosophical truths to the dogmas of parties and of sects, such an agitation cannot but be most salutary. So far as such discussions hold the attention to the far reaching fundamental principle that the creeds of the church are of necessity the products of the schools, and therefore are to be distinguished from the faith of the church, which concerns itself mainly with relations of fact and of duty, so far they cannot but strengthen the faith and enlarge the charity of its gifted and cultured scholars. So far, also, as they direct the attention to the difference between a living faith in a person and a history, and the intellectual appreciation of logical distinctions, so far will they provide for the freedom of scientific discussion and the exactness of scientific thought on the one hand and the fervor of personal faith and of devoted service on the other. The memoir and works of Professor Green are fitted to inculcate both these lessons. They

certainly present an admirable and inspiring example of a man of heroic mould who strove with equal earnestness for the right to think and reason as truly as for the privilege and obligation to feel and to act, and exemplified most admirably the impulse to love and worship as well as to labor and sacrifice. While we cannot but regret that speculatively he failed to emerge into a clearer adjustment of his speculative and historical faith, we cannot but rejoice that he ever dwelt in the broad and bright light of fervent and cheerful Christian duty and Christian aspiration.

Professor Green died as he had lived in a heroic spirit. When his life was glowing with promise and hope, he was summoned to a speedy departure. He committed to the care of his friend and favorite pupil, Mr. Arnold Toynbee, two discourses of a practical character which he had delivered to his pupils, to be published at his discretion.* He then asked that the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans should be read to him, which he seemed to follow with difficulty, and soon after passed from the shadows of time into the presence of what his philosophy and his faith had held to be the only realistics.

Of the advice given to Robert Elsmere by the supposed Dr. Grey, we have only to say that we prefer the dicta of Niebuhr and the elder Thomas Arnold, though uttered under different circumstances. It is recorded of the first: "The Word made flesh—the divine brought into visible contact with the human and finding an historical embodiment in an individual—was a doctrine that found a warm response in a mind so full of earnest aspirations towards heaven, and at the same time so thoroughly historical in its views of the world. His personal reverence for Christ was a sentiment that deepened with the progress of his life. He once exclaimed in the course of an argument with the (then) King of Prussia: "I would lay my head on the block for the Divinity of Christ." Dr. Arnold writes: "Strauss writes about history and myths without appearing to have studied the question, but having heard that some pretended stories are mythical he borrows this notion as an engine to help

* Mr. Toynbee died soon after, leaving a name not written in water.

him out of Christianity. But the idea of men writing mythic histories between the time of Livy and Tacitus, and of St. Paul mistaking such for realities—"

Verily philosophy and criticism have made some progress since the days of Niebuhr and the elder Arnold, but they have not yet made it natural or easy for men to stand on their heads, or to adjust the actual universe to the perspective which this position requires.

NOAH PORTER.

ARTICLE II.—THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES TO THE CHURCHES.*

THE only true and proper relation of the great Congregational Benevolent Societies to our churches is, in my judgment, an organic relation,—a relation which puts these Societies, representatively, under the control of the churches. The work to be done by these organizations constitutes one department of the divinely legitimate function of the churches, as truly so, as the maintenance of public worship, the observance of the sacraments, or the sustainment of the Sunday School.

On my first settlement in the pastoral office, forty-seven years ago, I had for my nearest ministerial neighbor on the north, that grand old man, Doctor David Dudley Field,—four of whose sons are reckoned among the distinguished men of our country. He was a leader in his day. And, before Doctor Leonard Bacon rose into prominence, he was the highest authority in Connecticut upon questions of Congregational polity. His active life covered the period which gave birth to the earlier of these Benevolent Societies. It was by him that my own mind was first directed to the uncongregational principles on which these Societies are based. He, with some of his con-

*This paper was prepared, by special request, as an Address to be delivered before the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut at its recent annual meeting in Meriden, on the 14th of November last. In the order of exercises, it followed the report of a committee upon the same subject, whose sentiments it supported. As a matter of record, it may be stated, that the Report was heartily approved, and the Resolutions which accompanied it, favoring an organic connection between the Societies and the Churches, were unanimously adopted. In revising the Address for publication, the writer has added several considerations bearing upon the subject, which, in consequence of having been limited to twenty minutes in the delivery, he had been obliged to omit. A few other slight changes have been made.

The National Benevolent Societies, whose relation to the Churches is here discussed, do not include such societies, as the American Bible Society, which are constructed upon a Union basis, but only those which are supported almost exclusively by Congregationalists, and regarded as belonging to the Congregational denomination.

temporaries, clearly foresaw and predicted that the time was not very far distant, when these principles would assert themselves offensively and injuriously. The views which I advocate, therefore, were not suggested by a present theological emergency. They are not new. They are as old as these Societies. They were earnestly advocated in a report made to the General Association of Connecticut by a Committee of which I had the honor to be the chairman, sixteen years ago. They are as old, I may say, as Congregationalism itself. And it is in the name and behoof of Congregationalism—the polity of the New England Fathers, and of the apostolic churches—that I undertake this discussion.

A fundamental inquiry is: What, in respect to benevolent Christian work, is *the prime design* of the organization of the local church—which is the only organized church known to Congregationalism—the church in Philippi, for example? Is it not *to combine and concentrate all the Christian elements* within its sphere of activity in that city, into itself, *as a corporate unity*, for the greatest possible efficiency in doing good? These elements thus unified become a coördinated active body of which Christ is the head and the Holy Spirit the organizing life; or, to change the figure, a covenanted band of inspired workers with God and for God. A church is thus instinct with a divine life and power, whether it expends its forces upon the local community, or upon some outside field, as when the Church of Antioch, single-handed, sent forth Paul and Barnabas upon their evangelizing tours; or as the Church of Pastor Harms at Hermannsberg established large and successful missions in Africa; or as recently, the Berkeley Street Church, Boston, proposes to commission one of its members to labor in Japan, or some other Asiatic field.

Suppose now, that the Christian elements in Philippi propose to unite with those in Thessalonica, and in Bera, and in the other cities of Macedonia, where the Gospel has gained a footing, for *systematized permanent work, on a large scale, in outside mission fields*,—Would it accord with the Scriptural idea, for a few believers from Philippi, and a few from each of the other cities of the province to organize themselves into an association for this purpose, without seeking the authorization

or even the approval of the several churches? Suppose that such an association should issue a circular of this tenor:

"Dear Brethren of the Churches—We have taken it upon our own responsibility to organize 'The Macedonian Missionary Society.' We are prepared to establish and conduct missions among the unevangelized peoples of this province, and in foreign parts. We ask you therefore, to furnish us with laborers, to forward contributions to our treasury, and to give us your sympathies and prayers. We beg leave to assure you, that we, associated as individuals, can do this work a great deal more efficiently, more wisely and more successfully than you, as Churches, can do it."

What would these churches have said to have seen their church-life thus ignored and overridden? What would Paul have said, to have seen these focal organized centers of Christian light, which he had set up in obedience to the Master's will, held so cheap and obscured? No; this is not the divine order, nor the method of Christianity. These require that the local churches enter into such an association *as integers*, representatively, at least. No other form of association does due honor to the church, as Christ designed it, or brings it into so close relations to its own appointed work. No other so fully develops the concentrated power latent in it as a divine organism, and so stimulates the growth of its graces. Let the unscriptural *individualism*, which now prevails in our great benevolent societies, be carried out consistently and universally into all our other Christian relations, and it is questionable whether Christianity, as represented by Congregationalism, would survive the experiment for a century. It would disintegrate us. And I have not a doubt, but that the principal reason why Congregationalism has lagged so far behind other denominations in numerical strength in this country is, that we *have sacrificed the church idea* to this exaggerated individualism. Individualism has its place,—and a very important one,—in Christian work, as it stands related not only to private spheres of personal activity, but to coöperation with others, wherever circumstances call for it. But, if we would bring *the full power* of Christianity into action on any large scale for the extension of Christ's kingdom, we can do it only through the principle of concentration as divinely embodied in church organization, and in the unity of covenanted Christian fellowship.

The history of Congregationalism in New England reads us a serious and instructive lesson. Not resting satisfied with her simple church-polity, framed out of the word of God by the fathers, as distrustful Israel of old sought help from Egypt on one side and from Assyria on the other, so she has leaned on extraneous supports to remedy supposed defects in this polity. She at first courted connection with the State in foolish imitation of the Church from which she came out. She then set up over the financial affairs of her churches "Ecclesiastical Societies," which not seldom abused their trusts, and, in many cases, foisted heterodoxy into her pulpits, corrupted her doctrines, and drove her children out from their sanctuaries and their livings. She dallied with a half-fledged Presbyterianism, under the name of "Consociation," which established stated and authoritative courts of judicature over her churches. She gave her adherence to a "Plan of Union" with a strong National Church, through which she lost the most valuable portion of her rightful western domain; and having on her side all the advantages of early occupation, a godly ancestry, superior intelligence, and large wealth, she has shrunk to the dimensions of one of the smaller tribes of Israel. And now, notwithstanding all this disastrous experience, she wakes up to two amazing facts, that almost unwittingly she has committed her great benevolent work, for the doing of which her church organizations were in large part designed, into the hands of independent and irresponsible outside bodies, and, that she herself is declared utterly incompetent for its management.

It must however be acknowledged, that, though she has been a dull scholar, Congregationalism is wiser than she once was in respect to the several points just named, except the last,—a point which it is to be hoped will not long remain an exception. She has learned, that the being ousted from her old position, as the "Standing Order" in the State, has been an untold blessing instead of a calamity. She has learned that the churches can manage their own temporalities, quite as well, and perhaps a little better, without the appendage of Ecclesiastical Societies. And time has taught her that Consociationism is a foreign excrescence happily sloughed off.

She used to accept it as a maxim, that New England was her

proper heritage and home, and that, in communities west of Byram river, she was an impertinent intruder, and could never flourish. But already she has discovered, that her western possessions are promising to become, in extent and worth, the rivals of those at the East. And further, when, within twenty or twenty-five years, State Conferences and Associations representing the churches, began, in the older States, generally to supersede the old ministerial bodies, and especially when the National Council was organized, there was aroused a feeling of jealousy lest the autonomy of her churches would be interfered with, and the alarm cry of "centralization" was heard. But she has found that this change has contributed rather to her strength, and it is seen that, with the proper safeguards, associated action on a large scale, through representatives of the churches, is as germane to her polity, and as safe, as under other systems of church order.

But perhaps it will be said, that Boards, appointed by the churches or their representatives, to do the benevolent work of the churches, would, in order to their efficiency, require a larger liberty of action than is allowed to our State Ecclesiastical bodies or to our National Council, and therefore, that they would be more likely to become a source of mischief in our denomination, through their necessary assumption of authority, than in National Churches. But their discretionary power may be so clearly defined and limited as to constitute no ground of apprehension, especially so, as their doings would statedly come under review by the representatives of the churches. And it would certainly seem, that on the score of the assumption of authority, there is more security for the rights of the churches in a body responsible to the churches, than in one which is independent and irresponsible.

If anything further needs to be said to prove the feasibility and safety of bringing our Benevolent Societies under the control of the churches, I point with confidence to the methods of our Baptist brethren, who constitute "the straitest sect" of Congregationalists. Their "Missionary Union" is now in its seventy-fourth year, and is steadily growing stronger. It elects a Board of seventy-five managers,—to hold office for three years,—one-third of the number annually, which in turn chooses

the Executive officers. While I do not, in all respects, regard its Constitution as a model, thus much can be said of it, that it is a body strictly representative of the Baptist Churches and denomination. And if any serious difficulties have attended its workings, or any dangers have accrued therefrom to the churches, the fact has not yet come to light. It has proved itself a mighty power for evangelization, and has done its work grandly and successfully.

The truth is, that as Congregationalists, we have very little of what may be called a church-consciousness, and therefore very little *esprit-de-corps*. For reasons which are patent, large numbers of our leading men can hardly tell why they are Congregationalists rather than Methodists or Episcopalians, except that it is a matter of taste. For the want of the requisite positive teaching, our young people grow up with the idea, received almost as a Scriptural maxim from their elders, that it is a matter of indifference what church they belong to, provided only that they make a public profession of their faith, and live up to it. The result has been and is now, that our Eastern Congregational parishes are foraging and recruiting grounds for proselyters of every name. In marriage connections between our church members and those of churches of other denominations, it is accepted as a matter of course that the Congregationalist must yield to the choice of the other party, whether husband or wife, whose plea is deemed conclusive, "Oh, you know I can not leave my own church." I have been told that Pastors of these other churches have sometimes advised their young people to seek matrimonial alliances with Congregationalists for the end of denominational enlargement. The compliment thus paid us is rather too dearly bought.

But to return more directly to our subject: There is no pretence that our National Benevolent Societies are the creations of the churches. The American Missionary Association gives delegates of churches the rights of membership at its meetings. But this concession amounts to little or nothing, as touching the management of the Association. It is a pleasant compliment. With this seeming exception, the Societies acknowledge no direct responsibility to the churches and are as entirely independent of their control as is Harvard University; while at the

same time, they are dependent on the churches for supplies, as the University is not. The churches, as the divinely established agencies for associated benevolence, are ignored, unless it be under the stress of appeal for pecuniary contributions.

Take as an example of a class, *The American Home Missionary Society*. It is an exceedingly unpleasant service which the cause of truth seems to demand, to criticise, even as to its outward form, a Society so dear to the friends of Christ as this. But on examination, we find it so loosely jointed that it is a wonder how it holds together. We cannot but think that some constitutional change is needed. Its Constitution does not recognize any such entity as a Christian church. It is constructed, in one respect, on the principle of a secular joint stock company. You subscribe or give so much money to our treasury and you are a member of the firm, and have a right to vote,—no matter who you are,—man, woman, child,—Universalist, Catholic, Jew, Infidel. It is a providential marvel that it has not long ago been captured by designing men for a sinister purpose. A meeting of the Society, as such, composed as it is of tens of thousands of members, is an impracticability. If gathered together in New York Central Park, it would be only a saintly mob, incapable of doing business. Membership is practically a farce. The consequence has been, that its management has undesignedly, and indeed necessarily, fallen into the hands of its officials, and a small fraction of other members, who have happened to come together at the annual meetings to pass upon its doings, and elect the President and Vice-Presidents, and the Executive officers. Good and faithful men in the administration of their trusts have they proved themselves to be,—not self-assertive, but wisely careful to avoid conflict with the rights of the churches. Still, there is serious cause for anxiety. Immunity from peril in the past gives no promise of security in the future. This honored and beloved Society belongs to the churches, and they ought to have it in possession, that they may breathe into it their own church-life. Its position, in respect to polity, should not be simply negative. It should be brought into symmetrical relations to our churches, and thus become Congregational, both in its structure and its moral influence.

Contrast now with this Society, "*The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.*" If one is a good model for a Missionary Society, the other must be a bad one; for they are antipodal in structure. If the former is loosely jointed, this latter is compactly stiff and strong, a self-perpetuating close corporation. If the one is deficient in centralized power, the other bristles with authority, claiming and exercising ecclesiastical functions in a way that trenches upon the prerogatives of the churches. The full rights of membership are, in the one case, put upon the market for sale at a given price. In the other, these rights are granted only to a select few, who are chosen, not upon nomination by the churches, whose work, as proxies, they are doing, but by those who at the time happen to belong to the privileged circle. In our impatience, we sometimes visit upon the heads of the members and officers of the Board, our resentment at the friction occasioned by their acts. But so far as these brethren are concerned, no better men can be found. They are the elect of our churches. It is *the system* which is mainly at fault, and for which these brethren are not responsible. The relation which they sustain to Christ's churches, as being above them, is what violates our sense of Christian propriety. Let the Board be brought into organic and responsible relations to the churches, and the disturbing and chafing element will be in large part eliminated. A bicyclist, to whom was given the privilege of the inside track on a city sidewalk, would quite certainly collide with and hurt somebody, notwithstanding the excellence of his character. He is out of his place. So a missionary board which is out of its proper relations to the churches, whose organ it proposes to be, can hardly avoid collision with them.

So far as the Prudential Committee of the Board have been subjected to criticism for asserting their authority, independently of the churches, though they may not always have been wise in their manner of doing it, they have not, so far as I can see, exceeded their chartered and constitutional prerogatives. If now the Board, without a resort to abrupt revolutionary measures, can become organically connected with the churches, as already suggested, representing them in its membership and owning its responsibility to them, we see not why there should

be any friction in its movements. The tremendous pressure which is borne by a few men at the missionary rooms will be shared by the entire Congregational body, and this Society, earliest in its organization of the entire sisterhood, and richest in its traditions, will firmly hold the churches to itself, not merely as its nominal but as its real constituents.

At this point, I am asked, were not the fathers who founded these societies intelligent Congregationalists? Why then did they, with comparatively so few dissentants, act with such utter disregard of the principles of their polity in the matter? Several sufficient answers can be given to this question. In the first place, outside missionary work was *a new thing* to them and the application of Congregational principles to associations organized for doing this work had not been thought out and tested by experience. And the very fact, that, as I have shown, they struck so wide of the mark in two opposite directions in organizing our two leading societies proves that the *form* of organization was largely a matter of accident or of experiment.

2. There was then in existence among Congregationalists, no good ecclesiastical machinery, through which the churches could have elected a representative body to take the responsible management of these societies. We had no State Associations or Conferences, with a single exception, composed of delegates of the churches. Such bodies, all but one, were made up of the ministerial element. 3. The churches, as such, were apathetic on the subject of missions. Any appeal to them to organize societies for outside mission work would probably have met with no favorable response. Hence, if anything was to be done, it must be done by individuals alive with the zeal of missions: and 4, In organizing our earlier societies, we were partners with Presbyterians, and, in one of them, with members of both the Dutch and German Reformed Churches. Of course in such a partnership, all peculiarities of church polity were held in abeyance.

At the present time, however, not one of the four specified reasons exist, nor any other respectable one, for the continuance of our anomalous individualistic methods. Our two-faced, self-contradictory system has been fully tested and has proved its inconsistency in both directions, with our polity. Ecclesiastical

bodies fully representing the churches are now at the flood-tide of their life and activity. The churches are wide awake to the claims of mission work. And lastly, our brethren of other names have bidden us an affectionate good-bye, to do church-wise what they unsatisfactorily did in partnership with us outside of their respective churches.

Here let us take note of the fact, that we are, at the present time, just where we were when these Presbyterian and Reformed brethren went out from us,—left by the receding tide stranded high and dry, constitution-wise, upon the neutral shore of the old Union basis. They have been wise enough to mould their charitable agencies in conformity with their respective principles of church-order. We, on the other hand, have neglected to adjust our benevolent work to the new conditions, and thus to make it accordingly fit into our church-life. For this reason, it is not brought so close to us that it is distinctly recognized as our own proper work. The impression produced is, that the work belongs to the societies more especially than it does to the churches. And hence it is prosecuted at great disadvantage. We count the State, the Family, and the Church as divine institutions, each filling a distinct and important place in our complex social life, and each competent to meet its peculiar obligations. We cannot, therefore, see why the Church, any more than the State or the Family, needs the intermediary aid of independent voluntary associations for the fulfilling of its proper mission. To assert that it does, is it not to hold it in disparagement as an example of a divine failure?

But I am reminded, that these societies receive many donations from individuals outside of the churches; and I am asked, whether, as a matter of equity, these givers should not have a share in the administration? I ask in reply would the Baptist Churches, or the Methodist Church, or the Episcopal Church, regard it as a demand of equity, that they give to individual donors to the treasury of their respective Boards of Missions, without regard to their church relation, the rights of membership in matters pertaining to the election or action of those Boards? Is it to be supposed, that the Centurion of whom the Jews in Capernaum said, "he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue" was

rewarded, or expected to be rewarded, with a voice in the management of the business of the synagogue? If some liberal man aids a feeble church, does he by that gift buy the privilege of taking part in the direction of the affairs of that church? If individuals, apart from the proper church collections, give to one of our benevolent societies, out of love to the cause which the society is aiming to promote, is it not a secular degradation of the gift to offer to pay them with official position, or even with the prerogatives of a voting membership? They may, if they so choose, designate the particular object to which they would have the money applied. But I do not believe that any intelligent giver would ask any surer guarantee of fidelity in the use of his money, than that the management is entrusted to the elect representatives of our churches.

Should we wake up to-morrow morning and find that, by some Vesuvian catastrophe, all our existing benevolent societies, the American Board, the American Home Missionary Society, and all the rest, had sunk irrecoverably out of sight, please tell me, how we should go to work to replace them? Would it be done by one little company of men, gathering, on their own individual responsibility, at the pastor's study in Farmington and organizing one society; another, gathering at the Bible House in New York, and organizing a second; and still another, gathering at the Missionary Rooms in Boston, and organizing a third? By no manner of means! There is but one possible way in which it could be done rightly and satisfactorily, and that is through the authorized action of the State Ecclesiastical bodies which represent the churches, or of the National Council. Is it wise to wait for a catastrophe to compel us to do what should be done voluntarily and with a cheerful harmony?

Professor Alexander Johnston of Princeton College, in his recent "*History of Connecticut*," in speaking of our National Federal Constitution, thus expresses himself: "It is hardly too much to say, that the birth of the Constitution was mainly the grafting the Connecticut system of government on the stock of the old Confederation." The self-government and equality of each town, in the Connecticut system, was the pattern after which the United States Senate was constituted, each State

being in that body equally represented. If now in 1787, Connecticut presented a model worthy to be copied in the framing of our National government, Connecticut in 1888 can show as good a model for the reconstruction of our National Benevolent Societies. "The Missionary Society of Connecticut," whose beginnings date back nearly a century, is that model. The churches represented in this General Conference manage it through Directors chosen by the Conference. I need not tell you with what wisdom, efficiency and economy its work has been done, nor how dear it is to the churches. If now, by the application of the same principle, we can manage our National Benevolent Societies, through men chosen by our several State Conferences or by the National Council, we shall achieve a result quite as important to our churches, as was the change of the old "Articles of Confederation" for the "Federal Constitution," to these United States.

In conclusion: The result towards which this discussion has been aiming, and to which the truth and Providence of God seem to conduct us, may be comprehensively expressed in the following terms: While we render all due honor to the Christian foresight, faith, and courage manifested in the founding of our National Benevolent Societies, and while we gratefully recognize the rare fidelity with which their affairs have been administered, the time has come, when they should, by the requisite changes in their structure, be brought into organic connection with the churches, and so become the appropriate and responsible agencies, through which the churches, as being Congregational in form, may do their appointed work for the world's evangelization.

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ARTICLE III.—SUGGESTIVENESS IN ART.

THOSE people who go out into the roadways of art crying Haro! Haro! in the name of realism would certainly gain their cause could numbers alone give them a verdict. For to say that the present tendency of the masses is toward the realistic side of life and art is but to state a trite axiom. We have about us on every hand the evidence of its truth. The age in which we live, dubbed Positive by Comte, has lost none of its positivism with his followers, but on the contrary has added to itself some latter-day exactness. So to-day we hear of innumerable exact sciences established by exact thinkers whose one aim is to get at the truth. This is quite as it should be; for the proper aim of science is to discover and establish truth. But outside of the exact thinkers are a great many people who, burdening their minds with no great problems of moment, fancy they like truths and realities because these are *en rapport* with the time, and for the further reason that whatever is true must necessarily be good for one's mental digestion. Truth being a very convenient pair of scales wherein things may be weighed one is not surprised to find it used for many things outside of the sciences. The arts are put in the balances and we hear great talk of realistic painting, life-like sculpture, and scientific poetry. Doubtless when the exact thinkers have time to turn their minds upon it we shall hear somewhat of an exact music and a positive drama. The inclination is that way. This is not quite as it should be; for the expressive arts have to do with the realm of the imagination, and their province is to please by stimulating the imagination of the beholder. They are not in any sense simple statements of truths or facts.

But it is not strange that people of to-day should demand an art of facts. The age, as already observed, is prosaic, scientific, realistic. The idealist is scouted at as a relic of speculative days; the *romantic* has received his death wound at the hands of Mr. Howells; and the old-time poet—well he is considered quite a good joke all around. The populace, always

cursed with a want and possessed of a longing for exact knowledge quite worthy of our first parents, calls out for truth. And they have it—have it in excellent form at that. The modern poet, in perfect conformity with the demand for greatness in little things, does not ascend the brightest heaven of invention, but, on the contrary, like the Peri descends to an earthly love. He pitches his tent in the valley and begins to dissect the wind, the rain, the light, the daisy, the blade of grass at his feet, the minds of the people about him. His researches, remarkable for their subtle analyses and pretty conceits, find vent in verse of polished form and of scientific veracity. The novelist rather leads the poet in minuteness of description. The society talk at an afternoon tea; the motives inducing a heroine to accept an offered love or shun a great temptation; the glare of a ball room, the flash of diamonds, the sheen of satin; a description of nature's face on a June day; mountain life in Tennessee; or boulevard life in Paris are all set forth with realistic fidelity and not without skill of handling. But it is the painter after all to whom people look for absolute truthfulness. If an audience becomes weary it can skip along bits of realism in poetry and fiction, but in painting it insists upon it that nothing shall be omitted and everything shall be realized. The great number of people understand painting to be an imitation of nature, and so the reasoning is, naturally enough, the closer the imitation the better the art. What wonder then that the artist paints a sportsman's outfit on the back of a door and spends days recording the inscription on a gun-lock, the exact creases in a pheasant's foot, or the seams and texture of a shooting coat. What wonder that he paints rugs, bronzes, china, and Second Empire furniture to be picked up; that his open sea shows a myriad of tiny waves reflective of the sky; that his people all walk out of their canvases; that his heads realize wrinkles and eye lashes; that his trees show each individual leaf. He assures us, as all realists do, that he speaks truth, and so he does; yet somehow we get little satisfaction out of his art. We wonder how it is all done, but our wonder is that of a child at a juggler's trick. The mind is perhaps astonished at the countless touches of the brush as the child by the conjurer's *leger de main*, but there is no æsthetic pleasure to be derived from such

art. The poem, the novel, the painting, none of them touches us profoundly. And why is this since they are all so very true, so realistic? For that very reason; they are nothing but truth. The element of imagination is wanting in both the object and the subject. There is no suggestion of anything that may stir the mind of the beholder. We have before us a mechanical problem of truth submitted to the intellect and appealing in no way to the emotions.

In this element of the imagination many observers are lacking, like Joe Willet; and, as the elder Willet expressed it, they need their faculties "drawn out." One day in the Medici Chapel at Florence I chanced to overhear a party of tourists lamenting the fact that the great marble of Michael Angelo, the Day upon the tomb of Lorenzo, had never been carried to completion. The figure of Night on the opposite side they thought rather good, especially after one of them had read Michael Angelo's lines explanatory of it, but the Day had chisel marks in the face, the foot looked as though covered with ice and snow, and there was no titular explanation to it. It was "such a pity." Is it then a pity that the sculptor never finished it? I think not. Every additional stroke of the chisel would have detracted from it, every rough edge smoothed away would have carried with it some morsel of strength. As it remains to us it is the very embodiment of power. Finish might have ruined it, but it is doubtful if it could have improved it. There like a fallen god he lies half embedded in his matrix of stone. The suggestion of mighty power is given; let the observer's imagination do the rest. The half finish, the mystery, the uncertainty give the opportunity. One may fancy as many have done, that the figure symbolizes the loss of Florentine freedom and that the grand captive with his massive brow and sunken eyes half rises wearily to view the morning light shining for him in vain. Again one may think him a new Prometheus bound to the rock; one of the Gigantes; or perhaps a conquered Titan lying along the hills of Tartarus in the drear twilight brooding in melancholy silence over the loss of Olympus. To whatever one may imagine regarding the figure, the element of reserved strength will lend assistance. Cut the captive from his bed of stone and the strength falls short, lacking

the foil of resistance ; finish the marble, and an existent fact precludes the possibility of wide imagination.

For the same reason one finds it hard to regret that some of the finest Greek marbles have come to us in fragments only. The Venus of Melos with her fine head reveals to us an almost perfect beauty ; but is the Crouching Venus with her head, arms, and feet gone, and part of her left knee knocked out, less beautiful ? The exquisitely modeled torso, the graceful pose, the rhythm of line, the rendering of the flesh raise the mind to a lofty pitch in conceiving what the head should be. Place a head like that of the Medicean Venus upon it and the statue loses ; imagine, however, a head of that living beauty which sculptor's chisel never yet cut from stone and the statue gains. This is equally true of that marble which I venture to think one of the very greatest that has come to us out of all the past—the Samothracian Victory of the Louvre. Headless, armless, footless, sustained as by her remaining wings of stone, with the motion of rapid flight still about her, she touches, just alights upon the prow of a ship. How the push of that grand figure up against the wind flutters and strains the delicate drapery until the limbs and the torso seem bursting through its folds ! How strong must have been the gale beating against the broad bosom and whistling through the mighty wings that required the throwing forward of the upper part of the body to meet it ! Who was she, what was she, whence came she ? Had she the head of a grey-eyed Athene, calm, majestic, powerful in repose ; did she hold in her hand the laurel wreath for those who had lately conquered ; or was she a War Fury with flying disheveled hair, eyes aflame like a Medusa, and an outstretched arm and finger pointing the way to battle ? One may be pardoned for not regretting the lost head. It might have been insipid, for the Greeks placed the head below the body in importance, and with the actual fact before us there would be no room for the imagination. A handsome, even a superior face would have dragged down the whole marble. Nothing but a head of superlative majesty could crown that faultless figure, and, great as were the Greek artists, it would have required a great god of art such as we have never known to realize so high an ideal. Given the figure alone and it kindles in

the beholder's mind so bright a flame that imagination nobly sees the missing features. For that same imagination can carve and paint in perfection such things as no hand however cunning has ever been able to reveal in substance.

Here is no quarrel with truth nor for that matter with realism except as the latter tends to absolute imitation. True art seldom thrusts forward falsities for purposes of effect; rather does it consider the measure of truth to be used. The colossal Day of Michael Angelo generalizes a large truth; it does not realize small ones. The Samothracian Victory in its present condition tells a half truth; it falsifies nothing. Let the spectator's imagination supply details if it will; enough for art that it suggests them. And the power of selection as to what shall be told and what shall be left untold characterizes the great artists in all the arts. Your poet of realism is a Doctor Johnson sort of a person who hits with his cane every horse post in the street to let you know that it is there; the true poet strikes occasionally but with emphasis. The great master of art, how well he knew the imagination's vulnerable point. The lovers, Lorenzo and Jessica, are out in the evening air; with what consummate skill Shakspeare describes the stillness of the night, the peaceful sky, the shining stars, the whole scene with that one suggestive line:

"How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank."

The landscape appears before one as by magic; the mind is roused by the image and responds to it. Your realist would have put us to sleep with dreary descriptions of grass and groves and gutter guide-posts instead of the moonlight. Here from the same brush again, is a *genre* painting of the hounds of Theseus to equal a Snyder's or a Velasquez:

"My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind
So flewed, so sanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew;
Crook-knee'd and dew-lapp'd like Thessalian bulls."

Coleridge, too, knew how to accomplish much by slight means, as witness this Turner-esque marine (lacking Turner's detail) from the Ancient Mariner's description of the skeleton ship:

"The western wave was all aflame.
The day was well nigh done.
Almost upon the western wave
Rested the broad, bright sun ;
When that strange shape drove suddenly
Betwixt us and the sun.

And straight the sun was flecked with bars
(Heaven's mother send us grace !)
As if through a dungeon grate he peered
With broad and burning face."

And here is Byron's ghost portrait of Nimroud as he appears to Sardanapalus seated at the banquet board of Assyria's collected monarchs :

"The features were a giant's and the eye
Was still yet lighted ; his long locks curled down
On his vast bust, whence a huge quiver rose
With shaft heads feathered from the eagle's wing
That peeped up bristling through his serpent hair."

Devoid of details, utterly lacking in minute finish, yet how quickly the mind grasps the different pictures! The salient features are sketched in bold outlines, the predominant colors laid on with a broad brush ; the image is in each case forcibly presented, enough is known. Add minutiae and the pictures lose, first, by sacrificing the strength of the more prominent features to the less ones ; second, by placing in the object (the pictures) that which should properly remain with the subject (the observer's mind). It is not enough that art should be simply a statement of facts ; it is not enough that the observer should receive it coldly as such. The first must stimulate ; the second must be stimulated. And the imagination of man is easily aroused if properly addressed. It resembles a magazine of powder ; one may toss at it sticks and stones, refuse and rubbish, detail and minutiae, and it remains passive, but drop into it a spark of genius and immediately it bursts into a flame of activity.

Few had a more happy faculty of calling up a face or a scene before one's mind by a single touch of art than that novelist who has now become a St. Sebastian target for the arrows of the realists—Charles Dickens. It is true he generally seizes

upon a peculiarity which he negatively exaggerates by allowing it to stand alone. That he carries this too far in some cases and thus becomes extravagant may be admitted without in any way shattering the principle of art upon which he works. In *Little Dorrit* for instance, he wishes to intimate that Monsieur Rigaud is a sly Mephistophelian rascal, but he does not go into the man's back history to do it; nor does he dissect Rigaud's psychological nature or genealogical record to show the causes impelling him toward evil. He simply takes him seated on a ledge in the Marseilles prison and says of him:

"When Monsieur Rigaud laughed a change took place in his face that was more remarkable than prepossessing. His moustache went up under his nose, and his nose came down over his moustache, in a very sinister and cruel manner."

Does that not place the foxy, crafty Rigaud instantly before us? In *Our Mutual Friend* the few lines descriptive of Rogue Riderhood as he stands in the doorway of the lawyer's office to give evidence against Gaffer, rubbing with uneasy hand a wet fur cap against the grain, tell the man and his character better than a chapter of words. In word pictures the artist successfully catches the mind's eye by few but vivid flashes. It is not an easy task, for instance, to imagine the waters of the Nile turned to blood under the outstretched rod of Aaron. We are slow to grasp the scene and not even the account in *Exodus* brings it fully before us. But when Théophile Gautier, in *Le Roman de la Momie*, tells us in one sentence of the scarlet waves that broke in "pink foam" upon the shore, the imagination starts with a sudden bound. If I may be allowed the mixed metaphor that "pink foam" is the spark in the powder magazine. And again the true artist always induces his audience to meet him more than half way. Like the children who followed the Pied Piper, they see visions, but the Piper inspires the visions by "three notes" from a simple cane. Mr. Besant in his *Art of Fiction* tells us that when that great master of fiction, Charles Reade, "in his incomparable tale of *The Cloister and The Hearth*, sends Gerard and Dennis the Burgundian on that journey through France, it is with the fewest possible words that he suggests the sights and persons met with on the way; yet so great is the art of the writer, that,

almost without being told, we see the road, a mere rough track, winding beside the river and along the valleys; we see the silent forests where lurk the routiers and the robbers, the cut-throat inn, the merchants, peasants, beggars, soldiers who go riding by; the writer does not pause in his story to tell us all this, but we feel it—by the mere action of the piece and the dialogue we are compelled to see the scenery; the life of the fifteenth century passes before us with hardly a word to picture it."

I know not why writers, sculptors, and painters should take such pains to omit and to suggest when it is so much easier to fill in and to elaborate unless there be some deep method in it all. Their doing so is not simply trickery as we have been often told; nor is it a shrewd playing with, a baiting of one's imaginative appetite. Rather is it a conscious knowledge of the limitations of artistic power and a recognition that the people for whom art is created have a part to play in its proper understanding. Art-biography if it were truly written would be one long wail over the unattainable. For never an artist lived whose idea fell not short in realization. The endeavor always plays sad havoc with the conception. The mind roams free; it dwells in aerial palaces, wraps itself round with golden cloud embroideries, catches strains from the poetry of the gods, listens to the music of the spheres. The hand is shackled by a limit of possibilities; however skilled there is a point beyond which it may not go. The eye sees and the hand reaches up to grasp the soaring beauty, but every restraining touch upon the butterfly wings "brushes their brightest hues away." How peurile the poet's thought when he has it pinned down to earth in verse! How insipid compared with his conception is the face showing upon the painter's canvas! What else but an recognition of the impossible in art ever led Velasquez in his picture of the Crucifixion to half hide the face of Christ under his long, flowing hair? Was not his doing so a further recognition of the possible in the beholder's imagination? In these two concessions Velasquez proved himself a great artist. He knew there never had been painted a satisfactory face of Christ. Doubtless then as now people found fault with the type and to paint the godlike was impossible. So he painted not the divine

but the purely human, not the living but the dead from which the godlike had flown. It was a shrewd Velasquez that chose the human nature of Christ instead of the divine; it was a wise Velasquez that half covered from view that human face, leaving just enough of it for suggestion; it was a great Velasquez that relegated to each person's imagination the transforming of that human face into one of divinity.

It seems a paradoxical statement to say that an artist often gains by what he leaves out, but a moment's reflection will bring the general truth home to us even within our own experience outside of the arts. The instances of it are numerous among the painters, though the bold application of it so far as the omitting of half a face as in Velasquez' Crucifixion is seldom met with. A modern painter, J. F. Millet, offers an approach to this in his masterpiece, the Sower. The whole picture is rather indefinite in treatment—what a realist would call “blot-tesque” I presume. The foreground is in the dusky shadow of a hill; above the hill is the high light of the evening sky and against this sky appears a roughly treated ox-team. In the foreground with his swinging motion strides the Sower. He is the most finished of any object in the picture, and yet he is only suggestion. Foot, leg, hand, and arm are consciously blurred though well-enough modeled and endowed with great action; the clothes appear coarse though their texture is not actually told; and if one looks up into the face hoping to peer into the eyes and read a character therein he will be disappointed. The peasant's hat is pulled down low on the head, the forehead and eyes are cast in deep shadow, and the whole face is but a hint, an intimation. But how well it is given! How quick we are to grasp Millet's meaning! The sun has gone down but still the Sower works; the sweat and dust of a long day are upon his face and forehead but he heeds them not; he is weary and worn but the long stride never falters, the swinging hand still scatters the grain. What a hard, cheerless, almost hopeless life is that of the tiller of the fields, and what a hero he is to breast it so nobly! He flinches not under the severity of fate but with sad serious eyes fronts the inevitable. And who heeds while he struggles for the grudging existence? The children hunger, the wife weeps, the man

sighs, but the great world rolls on unmoved. There is a wealth of poetry to be gotten from the subject, yet it is not all in the picture; we come to know the meaning of toil and sorrow and yet Millet tells us but a part of it. The poetry is somewhat in our own minds; Millet's task was to touch it into life by the suggestive means of form and color. He never thought to tell us exactly what he himself thought of the peasant; he did not eliminate the mystery by detail, nor crush out the viewer's imagination by realistic facts; he told a subtle half truth and left the other half to be supplied by the spectator.

How puerile and unsatisfactory is exact art in comparison with suggestive art is shown in the products of those young Parisian imitators of Millet who are to-day painting the sabotshod peasantry of France. Almost any one of the imitators is a better technician than Millet and it is not by virtue of more skillful fingers that Millet is superior. Their line and color and texture and light are oftentimes beyond criticism, and they paint the peasantry in the open fields quite as honestly as did their master; but somehow their pictures do not give us as much pleasure. We settle the matter in our own minds by saying "They have not Millet's genius;" but that, I opine, is only another way of saying "They have not Millet's power of suggestion." They paint well but they paint too much; they present us with encyclopedic facts the truth of which we admit and then pass on having no food for further thought or stimulant for the imagination.

A different style of treatment from the modern Parisians, a style similar to that of Millet, marked the products of the Fontainebleau—Barbizon landscapists—those discoverers whom the world of art so persistently misunderstood and whom the world of exact thinkers does not now believe in. To the realist a landscape by Corot is an enigma. He declares that "it is not true," by which he doubtless means that it is not *exactly* true, or the *whole* truth. He cannot understand why Corot does not make an inventory with a paint brush of all the leaves on a given tree, of all the blades of grass on a given foreground, of all the rocks on a given hillside. The realist is after truth, but Corot is after beauty and so he sweeps away the leaves, and grass, and petty minutiae with a large brush and

calls us, by the absence of distracting details at the sides, to look up at the central beauty of light. And this is so essentially Shakspearian in conception and execution that I may be allowed to quote again that line from the *Merchant of Venice* :

“How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank.”

The dramatist it will be observed fixes attention on the moonlight, that chief feature of night, and without another word the whole landscape rises before us. This is precisely what Corot does. He makes us see the light alone, leaving the trees, the grass, and all that to our imagination.

Corot was Shakspearian enough to seize upon the all-pre-dominant feature of landscape, light, and for that reason if for no other he was the greatest landscape painter of his age. His masterpieces, like the *Orpheus* and the *Danse des Amours*, are considered masterpieces almost solely because of their emphasis of light, and when, as in some of his works, he sinks down to the emphasizing of air or foliage as the leading features his art loses proportionately. Rousseau was in many respects a better technician than Corot, but he was not so singular in aim nor so lofty in conception. The solidity of the earth, the volume of foliage, the color effects of the clouds were his themes, but treated in a broad manner never detailed, except in his earlier and poorer works, and always full of suggestion. Diaz in reflected light and the color of the foliage, Daubigny in grey tone and atmosphere, Decamp in warmth of color and light, Dupré in stormy skies, are all so many instances at hand showing a similarity of treatment if a difference of theme. Each one suggests the sub-features by intensifying the main features; none of them fritters away strength in an attempt to rival the work of a photographer's camera, or pays much attention to supernumeraries when more important actors are upon the stage. It requires your modern realist to give the mole hill as high a value as the mountain; to weary us with a burden of geographical and botanical statistics; to stuff us like roast turkeys with bread and butter lawns, sage and caraway-seed foliage, and onion-skin skies. The great French landscapists whom I have named used the forms of nature in a more effective manner. They all understood the meaning of

"dramatic effect," they all knew how to sacrifice the less to the greater, and they all knew what to leave out as well as what to put in. The art of omission is quite as great as that of commission. For the public may not object to what it knows nothing about, but it very often objects to what it does know about.

We come now to appreciate the negative value of "breadth of treatment" which lies not in what is brushed in, but in what is brushed out; not in what is accomplished alone, but in what is left unaccomplished. Broad treatment is generally synonymous with suggestive treatment. It annihilates details, concentrates force on general truths, and speaks few but winged words. But it has a positive value which it is proper we should appreciate likewise. Painters have what has been called their "different periods" of production corresponding to the different ages of their lives. There is the early period when exactness and finish characterize the work and make it hard and unsatisfactory; there is the middle period in which the brush begins to move freer and details do not receive so much attention; and there is the late period in which breadth of handling becomes noticeable, detail vanishes, and the strong features alone remain. The work in the last period of a painter's career is generally considered his best, unless it degenerates through haste of the brush or weakness of the mind as, for instance, in Jules Dupré and Turner. The French landscapists, whose art we now value so highly, passed through these periods; Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyke, Hals, Terborch, Brouwer (I give the names at random for the statement is generally true of them all), passed through them; and even if we go back to the Italians we shall find, in a less marked degree, that the art of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Titian, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese is all characterized by a latter-day largeness of view and a comparative breadth of handling. This change of style as the painter advances is not due to carelessness or inability, except occasionally, for the hand and the eye have become more skilled, are surer and truer, are at their best, and this perfected *technique* is in itself a source of pleasure. Yet more than to skilled execution is the change due to mental experience which

teaches men as they advance in years to take broader and loftier views of nature and of life. The trained mind of fifty grasps subjects in the round, in the block, where the untrained mind of twenty frets itself sick over the petty details of a part.

It is to make people see subjects in their broader meanings that artists paint them broadly. If one craves detail let his imagination supply it; put it in the canvas and the eye will never look beyond it. In the Vienna portraits by Balthaser Denner we lose ourselves in wonder over the facial delineation, the wrinkles, the moles, the flesh stains, the hairs; we never think to look for the character of the sitter, and if we did we should not find it. In the Gevartius portrait by Van Dyke in the National Gallery at London, or in the portraits of Rembrandt by himself where he is represented as an old man, we wonder at the marvellous character which is depicted; we never think to look for facial delineation. Which is the more important in portraiture the character of the man or the wrinkles in his face? There is great truth of detail in Mr. Henry P. Smith's mid-ocean pictures—the truth of hammered-silver waves and reflected light; but the artist overlooks in detail that chief feature which Courbet in his great picture of the Wave in the Luxembourg seized upon so triumphantly, the mighty strength of the ocean. The one picture is the greatness of the infinitely little; the other is a little of the infinitely great. Even in *genre* and still-life pictures there is a difference between a broad and a narrow view of subjects. Huysum may paint flowers with deceptive drops of water and insects upon the petals, Desgoffe may imitate crystals and bronzes, and Alma Tadama may realize the stains in a piece of marble; but after all when men like Vollon and Fortuny see these objects in the round and paint them in the bulk they have shown their most salient features and thereby suggested to us their details. In literature there is such a thing as insulting the intelligence of one's readers by offering it too much small knowledge; there is no good reason why the application should not be made to art.

Thoughtful students of books one generally finds to be men who have a preference for the suggestive writers. The thoughts that simply increase our store of abstract knowledge

are of small consequence compared with the thoughts that make us think. A page from Emerson's *Essays* will weigh down in value a dozen pages from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Doubtless it will be admitted that this is as true of the poem, the drama, and the novel as of the essay. Is it not equally true of the plastic and the graphic arts? Painters prefer the sketch to the finished work for no other reason than that it has the freshness of suggestion. The painter, it may be conceded, has a quicker eye, a keener imagination than the amateur, so that where the sketch finds him at home it may find the amateur far at sea; but surely the latter has some eye, some imagination, though they be not highly skilled, which the painter may address suggestively and not unsuccessfully. That art which leaves us where it found us fulfills no serious mission on earth. A picture may not be able to exalt us to great heights of splendor, it may not music-like rouse an Alexander as with

“a rattling peal of thunder”;

but unless some thought in it strikes into fire new thoughts in us, unless it touches some responsive chord in our nature, unless it somehow stimulates us with new life and pleasure the painter's graceful tracery of form, his brilliant flush of color have been expended in vain.

JOHN C. VAN DYKE.

ARTICLE IV.—THE ETHICS OF SPECULATION.

THE moral character of speculation is seldom called in question. Although a certain stigma is often attached to the term "speculator," and the general public looks askance at the wholesale transactions in the Exchanges and on Wall street, it is not from any moral disapproval of the practice in itself considered, but rather from personal aversion to individuals who have acquired wealth by this means, and the particular methods which they have employed. Ordinary speculation is sanctioned by law and by the popular conscience. It is accounted as honorable as productive trade, and few persons would be restrained by conscientious scruples from sharing in its profits. As a consequence speculation has come to be recognized as a respectable profession when not accompanied by overt dishonesty. In every community we may find men who gain a livelihood by speculation alone. Besides these are very many representatives from every class of society and every real or imaginable profession who invest a part of their surplus earnings in this form of trade. While they continue to devote their chief attention and energy to some productive calling, whether it be the law, or husbandry, or preaching the Gospel, or measuring cloth, as often as they can spare a few dollars, they put it into margins or stocks, or buy a few lots of land in some growing town, or enter the Board of Trade.

A very few out of the vast number who thus invest are successful; and these usually give up their legitimate toil and turn their whole attention to speculation. Others, and many more in number, simply lose what they invest in this way. Still others, being threatened with loss, constantly add to their unprofitable investment with the hope of saving what they have already invested and thus involve their whole business in ruin, or making use of funds not their own become entangled in hopeless defalcation. It is a fact worthy of notice that the majority of our defaulters have been drawn into dishonesty by unsuccessful speculation. With results, however, we have

nothing to do in the present discussion. We are only concerned with the fact that the practice of speculation in some form is well nigh universal. Men who pride themselves on their strict honesty, who would not intentionally wrong their fellow men, and who would be ashamed to buy a lottery ticket or stake their money at the gaming table, have no conscientious scruples against speculation.

Few persons distinguish between legal and moral right; and in this land there is a tendency to submit all questions to the dictum of the majority. We must remember, however, that questions of right and wrong cannot be decided by a show of hands or weight of authority. These standards are very uncertain and changeful. Popular opinion in ancient Sparta declared theft to be a virtue, and the same authority in Judea branded Divine goodness a crime. But notwithstanding all the changes of public sentiment, the eternal principles of right and truth have remained the same, and the moral character of every practice or institution must be determined by these alone.

When weighed in the balances of eternal justice, speculation is found wanting. Its character will not stand the supreme test. It is a moral wrong. It is in its essential nature opposed to all accepted ethical standards. It stultifies the fundamental principles of right which must underlie all permanent social relations. The speculator is a thief from society. He is a parasite, living only as he sucks the life blood of another. He is a public malefactor, having no claim to a place in the ranks of honest trade.

The business of the speculator has not grown up out of any real or fancied need of society. It is the result of unmitigated selfishness, the reckless haste to be rich. The possibility of acquiring wealth has begotten an intense desire for wealth. The "mushroom" fortunes so common in a new country have become a snare to the people, and almost every young person cherishes the feverish hope that through some happy circumstance wealth will come to him much more quickly than it can be earned by ordinary and natural methods. In a land like ours there is much to foster this hope. Our resources are enormous in comparison with our population and they are as yet very imperfectly developed. In them lie untold possibilities of

wealth. The discovery of a mine has made many a poor man rich in a day. Petroleum wells have accomplished the same result. Useful inventions have poured money into the pockets of men who were wise enough and fortunate enough to take advantage of the patent laws. The unusual demands created by the late war were a means of bringing wealth to not a few. And so it has often happened that men of no extraordinary ability have, by seizing some great opportunity, leaped at one bound from poverty to luxury in a most unexpected manner and without unusual exertion on their own part.

Whenever a fortune is thus suddenly acquired the spirit of emulation is aroused. Hundreds of onlookers become dissatisfied with the ordinary, slow processes of acquisition. The industry, the unremitting toil, the constant care, and the patient waiting necessary to gain even a moderate competence are scorned in view of the chance to make a fortune in a day. The question arises in every mind—"One man has done it, why may not all do the same?" With the question comes the determination. In their eagerness they entirely forget the important relation of *quid pro quo*, and see only the fortune acquired without labor or waiting. If natural opportunities for acquisition are wanting, they create artificial opportunities. If they cannot make themselves rich by enriching others, they will do it by impoverishing others. In other words—*they speculate*.

Wealth is legitimately gained only by means of production in some form. The discoverer of a mine or of an oil well brings within the reach of men vast stores of wealth which were before unknown and therefore useless; hence he is in reality a great producer and the fortune which he acquires is only a fair return to him for the increase of wealth which he has given to the world. The inventor has become an indirect producer by increasing the producing power of others, if his invention has any real value; hence he also receives only a just return for what he has given to men. The inventor of the mowing machine immeasurably increased the productive power of agricultural laborers, and thus fairly earned all the wealth he may have derived from his invention. The same element of productiveness underlies all legitimate trade. A farmer in the west raises ten thousand bushels of corn. If he finds no market

for it, the greater portion must go to waste. But if another man buys nine thousand bushels and carries it to eastern consumers, he has become a producer as really as though he had himself raised nine thousand bushels of corn. The railroad men and all who took a *necessary* part in conveying the corn from its original producer to the consumer are indirectly producers, for although of themselves they have produced nothing, they have saved the production of the farmer from perishing and thus being lost to the world. The man who actually buys railroad stocks as a permanent investment becomes a partial owner of the road and the profit which he derives from its regular dividends is legitimate gain, since he makes an equivalent return to society in the productive work of the road. In this way the labor of merchants, bankers and countless other classes of society is accounted productive because it forms a necessary link between producer and consumer and thus adds to the wealth of the world. The result of all truly productive labor is to increase the aggregate wealth of society, and any labor that does not increase or save from loss either the actual wealth or the wealth-producing power of mankind is not in any sense productive. Speculation does neither, but only consumes the wealth of society without replacing a dollar.

Again, all legitimate trade is based upon a voluntary exchange of equal values. This implies first of all that both of the immediate parties to the exchange shall derive an equal advantage from it. This is not all, however, for many exchanges affect not the immediate parties alone, but the community as a whole; and it is just as essential that we leave the treasury of society undisturbed as it is that we deal honestly with a single individual.

A man may derive large profits from purely speculative trade while the individual with whom he trades apparently loses nothing. In fact there may be an extended circle of speculative trade in which all parties directly concerned seem to be about equally profited. This is often the case in land speculation. One individual may buy a lot of land at a moderate price and sell it almost immediately at a great advance. The buyer may sell again also at an advance; and so the selling may continue till one buys it at a high price for permanent pos-

session, and even the last buyer may feel perfectly satisfied with his bargain, for he may still use the land profitably. There has been no loss but rather a direct gain to each individual having a part in the complex transaction, but in every such case society at large is the loser.

Speculation knows no law of fair or equal exchange. It is not exchange at all. It is merely disguised and legalized robbery. Its working is wholly in one direction. On one side it is all gain; on the other side it is all loss. Every dollar that the speculator gains represents a dollar or more of loss to someone, it may be to the other parties directly concerned in the transaction, it may be to others indirectly concerned, it may be the entire community.

The paper contracts of the Exchanges are perhaps the most extensive of all speculative transactions. These contracts represent no exchange whatever. They are wholly independent of the element of production. Their fulfilment implies merely the payment of a certain sum of money from one speculator to another for which nothing is given in return. The money may go in either direction with equal propriety, since it is wholly unearned. The direction in which it goes is arbitrarily determined by the fluctuations of the market.

The same is true of stock speculation. So far as the principle is concerned it makes no difference whether speculation is in whole stocks or in margins. The broker who buys a thousand shares of stock in some good railway at par and sells them a week later at five per cent. advance because of a forced rise in the market has no moral right to the profit received. The real value of the stock as represented by the condition and traffic of the railroad remains unchanged. He has not earned the money thus gained. If he has derived a profit of five thousand dollars someone has lost just five thousand dollars plus the waste which inevitably accompanies all such transactions. Again, if I place five hundred dollars in the hands of a broker to be invested in margins, when the transaction is closed if I find that I have gained a hundred dollars, then I know that someone has lost a hundred dollars in addition to various brokers' fees and other expenses. When the Bulls and Bears have a skirmish on Wall street and the victors win a million

dollars, it does not always follow that their immediate opponents lose a million dollars, but it does follow that somebody has lost it. Usually the loss may be reckoned in small sums invested in margins by traders, clerks, mechanics, and others throughout the country.

In its essential nature and mode of operation speculation in all these forms is identical with the lottery and ordinary gambling, only that it is if possible less honest. When money is taken from one individual and given to another, not because he has earned it, but because chance has decreed it, what difference does it make whether the chance is determined by a throw of the dice or the choice of a lucky number, or a movement of the stock market? Is not the moral character of the transaction the same in either case? In the case of the great speculators they are themselves the forces that move the market and determine the loss or gain. Their whole effort and ingenuity is given to the work of circulating false impressions and misleading their opponents as to their real intentions and the actual state of the market. Their action is precisely that of experienced and unscrupulous gamblers trying to outwit each other in the keenness of their cheating.

What a moral spectacle was presented to the world when, a few years ago, a father and son, both prominent speculators, measured swords in the arena of the stock market. Never were deadly enemies more anxious to deceive one another regarding their movements and intentions. Each taxed his strategic powers to the utmost, and the youth proved a more apt pupil in the art of dissembling than even his doting parent could wish, for he at length succeeded in bleeding the old gentleman to the extent of many thousand dollars.

Again, take the case of the land speculator. His business is of the same moral character as that of his brother in the stock market. It depends for success upon an artificial disturbance of the natural laws of trade. He aims not to supply an existing demand, but to create a fictitious demand which he may use for his own profit. He goes to some quiet town, buys up a large tract of land in some eligible locality, and then, by a process well known to speculators, creates a "boom" and attracts buyers. In a very short time he sells enough of the land to

give him a rich profit on his investment. Or it may be that he prefers to go to a place where the boom has already been started, and he merely steps into the current and, by skilful purchases and sales, causes to pass rapidly through his hands a number of desirable lots by which process he gains many thousands of dollars.

Now what right has he to the money thus accumulated? He has not earned it. He has added nothing to the wealth of the community. The land is just as it was when he bought it. He may have laid out streets and made some slight improvements, but they are trifling in comparison with the profit derived. He has taken several thousand dollars from the community for which he has made no return. This is obviously unjust, no matter by what process it has been accomplished. He may say that he has cheated no one, for the purchasers have all done as well as himself. They bought the land freely and without any manner of compulsion; therefore the trade is in every way a case of fair exchange. So it seems if we consider only the immediate parties to the transaction. But let us look a little further. I buy a lot of land to-day for a thousand dollars. By dividing it into small lots and booming it I sell it next week for two thousand dollars. What have I done? I have taken advantage of an artificially created demand for land to extort from society a thousand dollars for *—nothing*. The individuals to whom I sold the lots may fancy that they made good bargains, and so they may *as compared with others*; but the community is just one thousand dollars poorer for my transaction. I have drawn a thousand dollars from the world's store of wealth without returning a cent.

Many an American town is suffering to-day from the fearful drain that has been made upon its resources under pretence of stimulating its early growth. Speculation of this sort affects the prosperity of a town much as alcohol affects a sick man, giving an unnatural vitality at the time which must be paid for with interest in the future. Many people fancy that our country is being vastly benefited by the work of speculators in developing our great West and in building up new towns on the frontier. But if a balance sheet could be accurately drawn, it would appear that every dollar of gain from these speculations

in real estate has its corresponding dollar of loss in some part of the country. The successful towns have been built upon the ruins of others less successful. The advancing prices of land in Kansas or California only keep pace with the falling prices in the hill towns of New England. The gains of the non-producing western speculator are accounted for in the scanty living of the producing farmers and other laborers in the East.

From an economic point of view speculation in land or in any other commodity where there is actual ownership and transfer of property, is much less harmful than the paper contracts and speculation in margins, since it is necessarily limited in amount. Ethically, however, there is no difference. Every form of trade whose profits do not represent real earnings but are derived from artificial changes in the market, is morally wrong even though its economic effect be unappreciable. Any person who draws a dollar from the treasury of society without making an equivalent return is dishonest.

Every social problem presents two phases, the economic and the ethical. These are in a sense wholly independent of each other, yet they are always harmonious. That is to say, the economic effect of a custom or institution cannot be attributed directly to its ethical character, nor, on the other hand, is its ethical status to be determined by its economic effect alone. Still it is doubtless true in every instance that, in the broadest view, the economically expedient is also the ethically right. Of the two elements the ethical is the more important, since it lies at the foundation of all social relations. No custom can be beneficial to society, no economic system can be satisfactory, no state of society can be permanently harmonious, that does not rest on a sound ethical basis. Furthermore, any plan for the solution of existing difficulties that takes no account of the ethical principles involved must prove a signal failure. It is of little use to change external forms unless our work goes deeper. To legislate evils out of existence is impossible. Economic changes and reformatory legislation are of value only when they express a real advance in the moral sentiment of the people.

The evils which exist in American society to-day and which cause so much trouble and unrest are not the result of an im-

perfect social system merely. They spring chiefly from a lack of true moral principle. The popular conscience is not as keen as it should be, especially in matters where large sums of money are involved. It is difficult to persuade a man that the business by means of which he has accumulated great wealth is morally wrong. The selfish love of money lies athwart the path of every moral reform and clogs the wheels of human progress. For many years slavery was declared to be a Christian institution, because there was money in it. Hundreds of men will not see the real iniquity of the liquor traffic because they derive a large revenue from it. So it is with speculation. The large fortunes that have been quickly and easily acquired by this form of trade have made men willingly blind to its real character. It has appeared so respectable in many cases as to deceive even the very elect.

But the time is coming when this disguise must be removed. The spirit of the age demands it. A moral evil requires a moral remedy. Social changes may accomplish something in this matter; but there must also be a thorough change of moral sentiment. The conscience of the people must be more finely tempered. The work of reform will not be complete till the speculator is degraded from the ranks of honest trade and compelled to take his place beside gamblers and other social outlaws.

GEORGE H. HUBBARD.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

CLASSICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

On November 6th, Professor Reynolds presented a communication on the

CLASSICAL AND MODERN TRAGEDY.

Greek drama presents many features in marked contrast to modern drama; and since its traditions have been set up by a certain school of dramatists in modern times as a criterion of excellence, an examination of its origin and environment sheds light on the question of what in its form is essential and what incidental.

Greek tragedy had its origin in the dithyrambic choruses which were sung in honor of the god Dionysus. Originally religious in subject and always religious in its outward purpose if not in its inner meaning, it was shielded by religious conservatism from rapid change. Early tradition as well as good taste limited the choice of subject in the main to events in the remote past,—at first, to events in the life of Dionysus. Unlike modern poets, the Greeks were not jaded in the search for novel themes. Different poets often treated the same subject and even the same poet sometimes wrote more than one play on the same theme. Their work was judged not by the novelty of the theme but by the dramatic garb with which in was invested. The traditional costume, the masks, and the size of the theater which necessitated slowness of utterance, forbade lively action on the stage and produced a certain statuesque effect. The fewness of the actors, which is explained by the origin of the Greek drama, had a very material influence in simplifying the scenes and determining their succession. Each actor generally took more than one rôle. Even the time to make a change of costume had often to be taken into consideration. A certain economy had to be exercised in employing the leading actor, who would perhaps appear in more than one drama in a single day.

The constant presence of the chorus forbade any great lapse of

time to be imagined between scenes; while the added elements of deficient stage machinery and absence of a curtain would make a frequent change of scene jar on the dramatic illusion. The Greek poet therefore had to group the action around one place and one time; whatever else was necessary to the action such as battles, etc., was introduced by means of the reports of heralds, which were an integral part of the drama. The so-called unity of action or arrangement of events in a sequence of cause and effect was perhaps more strictly maintained than in modern times.

The paper further pointed out that Aristotle, the acknowledged authority of the French classical school, while he lays especial stress on the unity of action and mentions the unity of time, nowhere alludes to the unity of place. Violations of the unities were then mentioned both in Greek tragedy and in the modern classical and romantic drama. Instances were shown where the French dramatists adhered to the unities and violated all probabilities. In the absence of a chorus the need of a strict observance of the unity of time and place was wanting and the romantic school represented by Shakspeare freely violated both.

In the subordination of incident and diction to the central idea of the drama the ancients were manifestly superior. Attention was called to the fact that while Greek plays were composed in the form in which they were acted, modern plays are usually "adapted" for the stage. The paper closed with a criticism, from the above mentioned points of view, of Shakspeare's *King Lear* and Browning's *Best in the 'Scutcheon*.

On November 25th, Mr. W. L. Hunt read a paper on

WIT AND HUMOR IN HOMER.

The epic poem is not naturally witty or humorous. Its dignity and sternness preclude small talk. So on Homeric battlefields stern irony and sarcasm are used in mocking an enemy, exulting over a fallen foe, or spurring on a friend. Irony is heightened by intensive particles which make the contrast greater between the speaker's real view and his statement, or by weakening particles which state as contingent that which the speaker looks upon as certain. Irony is also indicated by using words of pleasant meaning in a bad sense, or by stating that which is feared as the object of the action. "Draw near that you may die!"

While there is no lack of wit and humor in Homer, many things are treated seriously which we should look upon as absurd. Homeric wit is broad not subtle, objective not subjective. It has to do with external objects and is aimed at definite persons. There is sometimes a humor in the grouping of events, as in the comical scenes in which Aphrodite figures, or in the prize-fight between Odysseus and Irus. Odysseus in the cave of the Cyclops saves his life by a pun. There is more humor in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. In the *Iliad* the wit is largely irony and sarcasm, for the *Iliad* is a stern tragedy, while the *Odyssey* is a novel.

The Secretary translated, with comments, Professor Jebb's Greek Ode to the University of Bologna at its Eight-Hundredth Anniversary. Few scholars would attempt to compose an ode of one hundred and fifty verses in Pindaric style, dialect and rhythm. Probably no other living scholar would have been so successful as Professor Jebb. The ode is by no means a "cento," yet every stanza contains Pindaric idioms and reminiscences. Some of the most ethereal of Pindar's characteristics reappear here. The Greek hexameters, elegiacs, and Sapphic verses which have been composed and published occasionally during the last four centuries are all trifling and rude work, when compared with this ode.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLUB.

The papers presented have been—

Oct. 23. Science and Theism. Mr. R. Nakashima.

Nov. 6. Nature and the Universal in English Poetry. Mr. J. H. Tufts.

Nov. 20. Philosophical Basis of Ritschl's Theology. Professor Russell.

Dec. 4. Hebrew and Greek Conceptions of the Relation between Body and Soul. Mr. F. C. Porter.

Dec. 18. Pessimism. Mr. B. M. Wright.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

In a little book which bears the title of "FROM FLAG TO FLAG,"* a lady of southern birth, whose home was in Louisiana at the outbreak of our "civil war," tells the story of some of the experiences which she and her husband passed through, as they ran "from flag to flag," to Mexico and Cuba, in the search for a place of refuge. The story is told so gracefully, it is so free from all bitterness of spirit—the numberless privations which she endured were borne with such courage, and with such a cheerful spirit—that no one can read the book without admiration for the brave and accomplished authoress.

She had been herself present in April, 1860, at the Democratic Convention in Charleston, when one after another of the Southern delegations refused to ratify the adoption of the "platform" that had been submitted, and "filed solemnly out of the hall." She says that leaning over the gallery rail, and carried away by the excitement that prevailed, she saw "with unspeakable dismay" that her "conservative and clear-headed" husband, when the other nine delegates from Louisiana marched out, remained seated. What followed is a matter of history. The "Confederacy" was born, and the feeling was general throughout the South that a new era of prosperity was to dawn.

One of the first events which is described is a flag-raising on her own plantation, which was near Baton Rouge on the Mississippi. Her house was full of guests at the time that the "Confederate Congress" at Montgomery "adopted a device for a flag." Her husband was absent from home. But, on reading the description of the proposed flag, it was at once determined by the enthusiastic visitors at her house that one should be manufactured and unfolded from a staff on the river front. It was soon loosened to the breeze with wild enthusiasm. They danced round and round it; they sang and shouted "in very

* *From Flag to Flag*: A Woman's adventures and experiences in the South during the war, in Mexico and Cuba. By ELIZA McHATTON-RIPLY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1889. 12mo, pp. 296.

exuberance of spirit." The steamers on the river, as they passed, whistled and rang their bells. The passengers and crews cheered and waved to them with hats, newspapers, and handkerchiefs, saluting "the first Confederate flag raised on Louisiana soil." But "to-day," she says, "of all that joyous party, I am, with the exception of my son, then a very small boy, the only one living."

All went well for a time, till "one magnificent morning in early summer, the whole river, the silence on whose surface had remained now many weeks undisturbed, was suddenly, as if by magic, ablaze with the grandeur of Federal gunboats, and transports with flags and bright-colored streamers flying from every peak, their decks thronged with brilliantly uniformed officers. We stood upon the veranda with streaming eyes and bursting hearts; the gay strains of 'Yankee Doodle,' as they floated o'er the waters, filling our souls with bitterness unspeakable, and we watched the victorious pageant until it anchored amid blare of trumpet and beat of drum beside the deserted landing of our dear little city." Now came the battle at Baton Rouge. Breckenbridge was defeated, and the house and every out-building on the plantation were soon crowded with the terrified population of the city seeking to escape from the bombardment. Her husband now found himself in danger of speedy arrest; and, with scarcely time for preparations of any kind, with his wife and children went out from his beautiful home, and commenced those long wanderings which the wife has here described. She says: "So I rode away from Arlington, leaving the sugar-house crowded to its utmost capacity with the entire crop of sugar and molasses of the previous year, for which we had been unable to find a market within 'our lines,' leaving cattle grazing in the fields, sheep wandering over the levee, doors and windows flung wide open, furniture in the rooms, clothes, too fine for me to wear now, hanging in the *armoires*, china in the closet, pictures on the walls, beds unmade, table spread. It was late in the afternoon of that bright, clear, bracing day, December 18, 1862, that I bade Arlington adieu forever."

It is with regret that we remember that our limits will not permit us to follow with even the slightest detail the story of the long journeyings of the little family who had so suddenly found themselves homeless. The story, as we have already said, is one of countless adventures and of great hardships, not only patiently but uncomplainingly endured; and, we must not forget now to

add, that in all these hardships and disasters that befell them, they were never so cast down that they were not ready to seek out and assist with a generosity that seemed unfailing, all who were in greater distress than themselves. And so, with brave hopefulness for themselves, and constant helpfulness for others, the years wore away till the "war was over," and then the reader finds in this closing sentence that which still further enhances the respect and admiration with which he has followed the fortunes of this brave "Southern" woman. She says: "Thus faded the Confederacy. We prayed for victory—no people ever uttered more earnest prayers—and the God of hosts gave us victory in defeat. We prayed for only that little strip, that Dixie-land, and the Lord gave us the whole country from the Lakes to the Gulf, from ocean to ocean—all dissensions settled, all dividing lines wiped out—a united country forever and ever!"

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

BRITISH LETTERS.*—We think that we are doing a service to a large number of people by calling attention to three little volumes of charming selections from "British Letters," edited by Mr. Edward T. Mason. There is not a dull paragraph among all these pages! The author has culled from numberless volumes of the "letters" of British celebrities the very best passages from their best letters, and has grouped them under thirteen different "subject-headings" in such order as seemed most logical and illustrative. The character of these passages may be gathered from a few of the "subject-headings" which we note:—"Manners, Customs, and Behavior:—" "National Traits:—" "Friendship:—" "The Family:—" "The Town:—" "The Country:—" "Out-of-doors:—" etc., etc. It should be understood that it has not been the plan of the editor to give whole letters, but he has picked out only the plums from each. We will transfer a small part of one of these plums, which is found in a letter of Norman Macleod, under the sub-heading of "Whim and Fancy." The letter was written to his mother on his fifty-sixth birthday. He says: "You must acknowledge that you took a very great liberty with a man of my character and position, not to ask me whether I was disposed to enter upon a new and important state of

* *British Letters*, illustrative of Character and Social Life. Edited by EDWARD T. MASON, editor of "Humorous Masterpieces." New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888. Three vols., 16mo. pp. 306, 266, 297.

existence; whether I should prefer winter or summer to begin the trial; or whether I should be a Scotchman, Irishman, or Englishman; or even whether I should be 'man or woman born;' each of these alternatives involving to me most important consequences. What a good John Bull I would have made! what a rattling, roaring Irishman! what a capital mother or wife! what a jolly abness! But you doomed me to be born in a tenth rate provincial town, half Scotch, half Highland, and sealed my doom as to sex and country. Was that fair? Would you like me to have done that to you? Suppose through my fault you had been born a wild Spanish papist, what would you have said on your fifty-seventh birthday, with all your Protestant convictions? Not one Maxwell or Buntroon related to you! you, yourself a nun called St. Agnese!—and all, forsooth because I had willed that you should be born at Toledo on June 3, 1812! Think of it mother, seriously, and say, have you done to me as you would have had me do to you?" We stop here with our quotation, though the best part of the letter is yet to come.

We will quote again from a letter of Richard Harris Barham: "I must tell you one of Moore's stories, because as Sir Walter Scott is the hero of it I know it will not be unacceptable to you. When George IV. went to Ireland, one of the 'pisintry,' delighted with his affability to the crowd on landing, said to the toll-keeper as the king passed through, 'Och, now! and his Majesty, God bless him, never paid the turnpike! an' how's that?' 'Oh! kings never does; we let 'em go free' was the answer. 'Then there's the dirty money for ye,' says Pat. 'It shall never be said that the king came here and found nobody to pay the turnpike for him.' Moore, on his visit to Abbotsford, told this story to Sir Walter, when they were comparing notes as to the two royal visits. 'Now, Mr. Moore,' replied Scott, 'there ye have just the advantage of us. There was no want of enthusiasm here; the Scotch folks would have done anything in the world for his Majesty, but—pay the turnpike!'"

"Lady Morgan, an Irish lady, writing to a friend, says:

... I have seen the best and worst of English society; I have dined at the table of a *city trader*, taken tea with the family of a *London merchant*, and supped at Devonshire House, all in one day, and I must say that if there is a people upon earth that understands the *science* of conversation LESS than another, it is the English. The quickness, the variety, the rapidity of perception and impression, which is

indispensable to render conversation delightful, is *constitutionally denied* to them; like all people of slowly operating mental faculties, and of business pursuits, they depend upon *memory* more than upon *spontaneous thought*. When the power of, and *time* for, cultivating that retentive faculty is denied, they are then *hébété* and tiresome, and when it is granted (as among the higher circles), the omnipotence of the *ton* is so great that every one fears to risk himself. In Ireland it is quite different; our *physique*, which renders us ardent, restless, and fond of change, bids defiance to the cultivation of memory; and, therefore, though we produce men of genius, we never have boasted of any man of learning—and so we excel in conversation, because, of necessity we are obliged to do the honors of the *amour-propre* of others; we are obliged to *give* and *take*, for thrown upon excitement, we only respond in proportion to the quantity of stimulus received. In England, conversation is a game of chess—the result of judgment, memory, and deliberation; with us, it is a game of battledore, and our ideas, like our shuttlecocks, are thrown lightly *one* to the *other*, bounding and rebounding, played more for amusement than conquest, and leaving the players equally animated by the game and careless of its results.

There is a term in England applied to persons popular in society, which illustrates what I have said; it is "*he (or she) is very amusing*," that is, they tell stories of a *ghost*, or an *actor*. They recite *verses*, or play *tricks*, all of which must exclude conversation, and it is, in my opinion, the very *bane* of good society. An Englishman will *declaim*, or he will *narrate*, or he will be *silent*; but it is very difficult to get him to converse, especially if he is a *suprême bon ton*, or labors under the reputation of being a *rising man*; but even all this, dull as it is, is better than a man who, struck by some fatal analogy in what he is saying, immediately chimes in with the eternal "*that puts me in mind*," and then gives you, not an anecdote, but an absolute history of something his uncle did, or his grandfather said, and then, by some lucky association, goes on with stories which have his own obscure friends for his heroes or heroines, but have neither point, *bût*, humor, nor even *moral* (usually tagged to the end of old ballads). Oh, save me from this, good heaven, and I will sustain all else beside!"

One more quotation we will make—for the benefit of tobacco smokers—from the letter of an English celebrity, who shall be nameless, who is urging an old friend to visit him in his country home. He says: "I am alone. . . . I am wasting my sweetness on the desert air—I say my sweetness, for I have given up smoking and *smell no more!*"

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

lacked knowledge" concerning the curious legends of all kinds attributed to Vergil during the middle ages, and therefore fell to studying the subject. The conclusion which he might soon have reached is that there are very few who do not lack this knowledge. So we have to thank what he is pleased to call his "inexcusable" ignorance for a book which will probably not be financially profitable to its author, but which can hardly fail to interest all students of the middle ages.

The study of folk-lore seems now to be going through a sort of Renaissance, and its real importance in the study of man is being better appreciated. Nothing throws more light on the character and customs of times and countries than the tales and legends current among the mass of the population. No writer of antiquity enjoyed so great popularity during the middle ages and was so thoroughly brought into both student and folk-lore as Vergil, and the legends connected with his name add not a little vividness to our appreciation of the credulity and superstition of the learned and unlearned of that period.

The bulk of the book before us is made up of eight chapters, each a complete essay, on Virgil and the Devil, Virgil in Literary Tradition, Virgil's Book of Magic, Virgil, the Man of Science, Virgil, the Saviour of Rome, Virgil, the Lover, Virgil, the Prophet, and Virgil in Later Literature. In each of these chapters the author has outlined a careful and well arranged analysis of the principal legends falling under that particular head. The result is that we get a clearer idea of the different aspects of the subject, than is possible by any other arrangement, although this method has certain minor disadvantages. Many exceedingly interesting stories and notes are found in all these chapters, but perhaps the most interesting and best worked-out essay is the eighth, on Vergil, the Prophet. There is no better illustration of the absurd method of strained allegorical interpretation so often resorted to in times past, particularly by the theologians, than the manner in which the fourth eclogue of Vergil was made over into a clear case of Messianic prophecy. But then, even that is not much worse than the modern fashionable method of interpretation so vigorously denounced by Andrew Lang in a recent paper. So far, then, as the principal part of this volume is concerned, we can commend it highly, but something must be said about the author's main thesis. This is stated on page 191. "The Virgilian legends so far as they concerned the poet himself, had only a secondary connection with what is scientifically known as folk-

lore. They were the product throughout of the literary spirit of times clouded by superstition. The popular element in them is the element which antedated their relation to Virgil." The author on reading Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* came to the conclusion that the Italian professor overdrew "the indebtedness of the literature of the twelfth century to Neapolitan folk-lore," and himself asserts that the "facts point to a literary rather than a popular genesis for the special fiction in which the name of Virgil figures." Comparetti, to whom Mr. Tunison acknowledges that he is indebted for most of his material, argued with great learning and acuteness for the opposite thesis, that the basis of the Vergilian legend was found in Neapolitan folk-lore, although this original germ was taken up and elaborated by the scholars and chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mr. Tunison expressly "disclaims all pretensions to learning or to a scientific method in the treatment of this subject" but still casts aside Comparetti's theory as wholly untenable and claims to have proved his own. We think that one who reads the two books at all carefully, will hardly grant this claim. It would be too long a task to reproduce here the arguments on both sides with any degree of completeness. Suffice it to say that no sufficient evidence is produced to show that there were no traces of Vergilian folk-lore in Naples until after they had appeared in the learned literature of Western Europe. On the contrary, we think Comparetti has shown that there were such traces. Even if there were no mention of such folk-lore in Italian literature before the close of the twelfth century, this could not justify one in maintaining that it did not exist among the people, as Comparetti is careful to point out. No one would question the fact that a large part of the Vergilian legend was the work of scholars inspired by a certain kind of superstition, but to cast out the basis of real folk-lore is too rash a proceeding, contrary to precedent and antecedent probability. Mr. Tunison's error lies in confusing the two elements of the legends. This view, however, does not materially detract from the value of the rest of the book as an excellent presentation of the curious stories which clustered around the poet's memory during that strange period. It is published in attractive form, and we have noticed only one misprint,—*virtutibus*, on page 167. It is a pity that the modern spelling of the poet's name was not adopted, and that no index is provided, so that one is compelled to get along as well as may be with only the table of contents.

FISKE'S "CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY."*—We have become accustomed to expect that any writing of Mr. Fiske's, in all the wide range of subjects with which he has dealt, will be found very suggestive and will set us thinking in new lines. However widely we may disagree with the conclusions reached we rarely fail to see facts in a new light, or to find the relations of things to one another, the lines of cause and effect—the really important meanings of facts—made so plain that we cannot miss them. This book is no exception to the rule.

It is a matter of congratulation, too, that a book of this kind, on a period so full of political lessons, should be given us at a time when events seem to promise a new era of thoughtfulness and painstaking in the settlement of political questions. To be sure the specific problems of that age are very different from those of ours. But the most important lesson which the men of that time had to teach themselves is the same that we must learn. It is a good thing to have it made clear to us from the experience of our fathers that a great political problem is not to be settled by an apostrophe to liberty or by a torch-light procession, and that a man who appeals to passion or prejudice instead of to reason in the face of a serious national difficulty, comes dangerously near the moral guilt of treason. There is no "preaching" in the book however, its lessons are left to plain and easy inference and are in no wise obtruded on the reader.

One further impression which the book leaves upon the mind should be noticed. Some prominent accounts of the period dwell almost exclusively on the difficulties which beset the central government, on the discord and jealousies between the different States, and on the confusion, almost anarchy, which seemed to reign everywhere. One closes the reading of Von Holst's incisive chapter, for example, with a feeling that the Americans were in some way very blameworthy for the condition of political disorder into which they had fallen and that if they had been such wise statesmen as we are accustomed to think them they would, long before they did, have established a strong central government and brought order out of chaos. It is, of course, to be expected that such an impression will be made by a chapter written with the perhaps half-unconscious motive of showing our national pride in the work of that time to be hardly well-founded—a mo-

* *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789.* By JOHN FISKE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888.

tive to which Von Holst gives virtual expression in his concluding paragraph. But although such a judgment is not without its justification and its beneficial influence it is nevertheless only a partial and one-sided one. No doubt the constitution was "extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people." The point is a necessary one to keep in mind but it is only half the truth. The real matter of surprise should be that under the circumstances a government meriting the high praise it has received could be even extorted. In this book the author quotes his earlier judgment that the work of the convention is "the finest specimen of constructive statesmanship that the world has ever seen" and fortifies it with the identical opinion of Mr. Gladstone. He might now add that of Mr. Bryce. Such estimates do not seem extravagant when we look at the circumstances. When we remember that the American people had had no experience whatever of a strong national government that all real government had been up to that time local, and that all their past history had been training them to look for serious danger in any government interference from without; when we remember these facts we may insist that we have a just right to be proud that a government which was to prove itself so successful in almost every way was formed so early. It could have been done by no people who had not thoroughly acquired the habit of self-government, and that indefinable sense which guides a really self-governing people, the sense which is continually evolving from the chaos of what seems to be only selfish and ignoble party or personal wrangling an orderly and successful government; which tells when to insist upon a point and when to compromise, and above all how to make a compromise;—that instinct which the foreign observer often finds it difficult to understand, in cases of its practical working if not in theory, and of which it is easy to say, as is somewhat the fashion in Germany just now, that its possession by any people is an expensive luxury.

The book makes the political confusion of the time as clear as possible but in such a way that we see it to be the unavoidable result of the past, and close the account with a feeling that the making of such a government at all is a ground for our pride in the work of the convention, equally with the character of the government made. It is even more justly a ground of hope for the future, provided we can retain or increase such willingness as then existed, to be convinced by argument and to yield local or personal interests, however important they may seem, to general considerations.

GEORGE B. ADAMS.

PELLEW'S "IN CASTLE AND CABIN"* is a book which every one should read who wishes to understand the state of feeling in Ireland with regard to the various public questions that are being discussed there. The author, with plenty of the best introductions, spent some months in visiting every part of the island, and sought every opportunity to make himself acquainted with the facts. The book is made up of reports of a very large number of conversations that he had with people of all shades of opinion; from the Lord Mayor of Dublin to "drummers" whom he met in the railroad cars, and to working people in their cabins. He has collected a mass of information with regard to "Home Rule," the recent Land Acts, the feelings of the Roman Catholics, the subject of Protection, the "Bounty System," the hopes and expectations of the people, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

LETTERS FROM WALDEGRAVE COTTAGE† form a collection of the "reminiscences" of an accomplished Episcopal clergyman, who during a long life has known many distinguished public men. Among these are Chief Justice Jay; Bishop Brownell; Bishop Hobart; Bishop Onderdonk, of New York; and Dr. Haight. The book has a special interest from its many allusions to New Haven, and to the surrounding country, to the University, and to its Professors. A chapter on college life at Yale, fifty-seven years ago, is valuable for its descriptions, and its allusions to Professor Silliman, Professor Olmsted, Professor Goodrich, and others. Mr. Nichols was a classmate of the late Professor Thacher, and an appreciative tribute to his memory which the book contains is specially interesting as coming from one who knew him as a student. The book is illustrated with the portraits of many of the distinguished men whom he has known.

THE ART AMATEUR for January contains two attractive colored studies, one of "Daffodils" in oils, and the other a portrait of a young woman, in water colors. The designs in black and white include a double page of birds (magpies and fly catchers), a lamp vase decoration (jack-in-the-pulpit), decorations for a plate

* *In Castle and Cabin*, or Talks on Ireland in 1887. By GEORGE PELLEW, of the Suffolk Bar. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York. 1888. 12mo. pp. 309.

† *Letters from Waldegrave Cottage*. By Rev. GEORGE W. NICHOLS, A.M. 1888. 12mo. pp. 253. Price \$1. To be obtained by addressing the author, Rev. George W. Nichols, Norwalk, Conn.

(orchids), a fish-plate and a Royal Worcester vase, a design for an embroidered chair-back and one for a pede-cloth, a page of Gothic bands for wood-carving, and two carved mirror frames. The frontispiece is a study of "Winter in the Woods." The specially practical articles are those on flower painting, tapestry painting, and water color painting, and a useful "Letter to a young lady who asks if she can learn China Painting." The department of amateur photography is of interest. The series on "Home Decoration and Furniture" is resumed, and there are numerous other articles and illustrations relating to similar topics, including needlework both church and secular. Important current events specially noticed are the opening of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Academy and Architectural League Exhibitions. Price 35 cents a single number. Montague Marks, publisher, 23 Union Square, New York. \$4.00 per year.

THE JANUARY MAGAZINE OF ART contains a full page engraving of the statue of Gen. C. G. Gordon, by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., in Trafalgar Square, London. A photogravure of the picture "Saving the guns at Maiwand," by R. Caton Woodville. A very instructive Article on "Expression in Drapery," by Miss Annie Williams, illustrated with four original studies of drapery by Sir Frederick Leighton, for his picture "Captive Andromache." A descriptive Article on "Salisbury Hall," with five illustrations, after drawings by W. E. Symonds. Four engravings from the Liverpool Corporation Collection: the Walker Art Gallery. An Article on the Portraits of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Four illustrations after the works of the French artist Gustave Boulanger; together with American art notes. (Cassell & Co., Limited. New York City. Yearly subscription, \$3.50. Single number, 35 cents.)

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

LEIBNITZ.*—The different numbers of the series of Philosophical Classics, to which this book belongs, differ in merit; but among the more excellent none is better than this one by Professor Dewey. The difficulties, or, rather the temptations, which stand in the way of any writer who aims at the critical exposi-

* *Leibnitz's New Essays concerning the Human Understanding*, A Critical Exposition, by JOHN DEWEY, Ph.D., Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company. 1888.

tion of a philosophical master-piece, are many and subtle. Few are able wholly to resist them. Nor are minds fitted to the work of *interpretation* at all frequently to be found.

After three introductory chapters on Leibnitz, "the Man," "the Sources of his Philosophy," and "the Problem and its Solution," his controversy with Locke is presented, as it concerned the questions of "Innate Ideas," "Sensation and Experience," "The Impulses and the Will," "Matter and its Relation to Spirit," "Material Phenomena and their Reality," the conceptions of "Substance," and "Infinity," and "the Nature and Extent of Knowledge." After this comes a chapter on "the Theology of Leibnitz"; Professor Dewey finishes his work with a brief criticism of certain fundamental points of Leibnitz's philosophy.

We consider the work of interpretation in the chapters composing the body of this book to be uncommonly well done,—so well done, indeed, that it would be quite feasible to take a class of seniors in college through this critical exposition and bring them out upon its farther side with a somewhat clear conception of the real opinions of the great German thinker.

The excellence of clear exposition renders this book particularly valuable; for Leibnitz himself produced no body of philosophical writings, which set forth his views in a systematic way; and even the "*Nouveaux Essais*," as Professor Dewey says, "is a compendium of comments, rather than a connected argument or exposition." Leibnitz, then, has peculiar need of popular and yet critical exposition.

As might be expected, we find in the closing chapter, which criticises Leibnitz's positions, several points to be called in question, and one or two from which we dissent. To mention only one of the latter, we cannot think that Professor Dewey is right in ascribing to Leibnitz's views so much positive influence upon Kant's position in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. One has only to read carefully Kant's remarks on the "amphiboly of the conceptions of reflection" to see how completely he intended to cut up, root and branch, both Leibnitz's method and also all his principal conclusions. When Kant, in replying to Eberhard's claim that the Leibnitzian philosophy contained a critique of reason just as well as the modern, rejoined that he was himself the true continuator of Leibnitz, "since he had only changed the doctrine of the latter so as to make it conform to the true intent of Leibnitz," he was speaking ironically. At Eberhard's time it was not

the first or the last occasion when the old orthodoxy, after vainly combating the new criticism has at last turned about and claimed the conclusions of their criticism as essentially its own.

The writer of this notice remembers how complete a failure was the result of his own attempt to use for this purpose a similar "critical exposition" of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. Statement and interpretation of Kant's views had been so blended with the interpreter's criticism, personal opinions, and philosophical "stand-point," that the class could not be taught to distinguish which belonged to the doctrine of the great teacher they were studying, and what to the opinion of his expositor.

POETRY, COMEDY, AND DUTY.*—Under this title Professor Everett has given us a series of delightful essays on "the Imagination," "the Philosophy of Poetry," "the Poetic Aspect of Nature," "Magic Forces in Life and Literature," "the Philosophy of the Comic," the "Ultimate Facts of Ethics," and "the New Ethics." In a concluding chapter he considers Poetry, Comedy, and Duty, in their relation to one another. The author has that blending of the power of reflective thought with a fine sense of the beautiful which constitutes peculiar fitness for the work of dealing with such themes. We find little attempt at strictness of definition; but the light is thrown upon the subject from various and changing points of view.

Professor Everett treats the imagination as the power which creates and reveals the *ideal*. The highest truth is in the ideal, whether it be truth of science, truth of experience, truth of art. If, then, we would attain the truth, "the imagination, the discerning and creating power of the soul, should rouse itself to a higher work. Poetry, like painting and sculpture, is a representative art." "Even in its lyrical form, it does not directly express passion; it represents passion." It deals, then, not with individual and actual life, but with life become universal and ideal. Rhyme and rhythm form the material with which poetry works. It is the power of nature also to represent this universal life which gives it the poetic aspect which it wears.

The secret of tragedy is that it shows us personality struggling with the destiny it has drawn upon itself. The tragic elements

* *Poetry, Comedy, and Duty*. By C. C. EVERETT, D.D. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

of necessity, blindness, and retribution, "form the great roof of life." Hence the life-likeness of true tragedy. But, as has been almost uniformly recognized, there is a close kinship between tragedy and comedy. How shall, then, their likeness and their differences be described? Professor Everett's reply is, in brief, as follows: "Both the comic and the tragic are based upon incongruities; the difference between them lies in the fact that the comic is found in an incongruous relation, considered merely as to its *form*, while the tragic is found in an incongruous relation taken as to its *reality*. It is interesting in this connection to refer to Lotze's view. "Tragedy and comedy," says he, "have, fundamentally considered, the same end;—namely, to show that it is the general metaphysical weakness of every finite creature to come to harm, as soon as it deems itself capable of playing the part of Providence, and of laying hold on the coherent system of the world's course, as a formative and guiding principle. Only that in tragedy, great and powerful characters, with plans of much moment, are shattered, being overthrown by the vast forces of the world's ongoing course, while, in comedy, insignificant figures with their petty intrigues are overthrown by the ordinary accidents of life."

In the two essays on ethics, Professor Everett contrasts and, in a measure, attempts to harmonize the new and the old. The consciousness of human responsibility is the chief characteristic of the old morality; a certain practicality, that comes from the development of the science of political economy, characterizes the new morality. The old principle of personal relationship must find expression in methods that accord with the practical wisdom derived from statistics, social data, etc. Thus will harmony result between the two types of ethical theory and conduct.

It would be difficult to find a more refreshing and quickening little book among those of the year past than this collection of essays by Professor Everett.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

DODS' NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION* is one of a series of theological hand-books which are appearing under the title of the "Theological Educator," and are edited by Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll of the "Expositor." The book limits itself to special in-

* *An Introduction to the New Testament.* By Rev. MARCUS DODS, D.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York: 1888. pp. 247.

roduction to the various New Testament books. The treatment is necessarily brief, but is not meager. The various critical opinions held by scholars upon important disputed points are quite fully stated. The effort has been to put the reader in possession of the problems rather than of the author's opinions upon them. The book is primarily intended as a guide for professional students and others who may be presumed to be able to weigh evidence and make a study of the questions involved on their own account. Of course it is not so elaborate as the works of Weiss and Bleek, but it is much better adapted than either of these for class-room use, both by reason of its brevity and by reason of its dispassionate presentation of all sides.

The author has placed before his readers the data on which judgment is to be based, but has kept his own judgment in the background of his discussions. We do not learn his views of the relation of the Logia to the first gospel, nor his opinion of the authorship of James and the Hebrews. Yet we have the data on which every opinion must be based.

We consider the book—within its limitations—an excellent and serviceable one. It fills a place not exactly occupied before, and may be commended as a guide to those critical and literary questions which meet the student of New Testament literature.

The book is not free from inaccuracies, for example (p. 182): "Paul uses the Hebrew, not the Greek Bible." On the contrary, Paul's citations are almost uniformly from the Septuagint.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

ABBOTT ON ROMANS.*—This volume is the product of prolonged and careful study and, therefore, of firm conviction on the author's part concerning the character and bearing of Paul's teaching. Its appearance has been long delayed in order that the views which it embodies might be well matured. Dr. Abbott starts from the assumption that Paul was "an evangelist rather than a philosopher, a poet rather than a scholastic" (p. 5). He believes that "scholastic theology has been imputed to Paul's writings, not deduced from them," and that Paul is "essentially a Christian mystic" (p. 5). The author considers the disputes over the Pauline conception of "righteousness" and "justification" largely a war of words and in general he dissents from

* *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, with notes, comments, maps, and illustrations. By Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT. A.S. Barnes & Co., New York and Chicago, 1888. pp. 230.

the views of the "forensic interpreters." He endeavors to penetrate to the substance of spiritual truth which underlies the apostle's conceptions and arguments, an attempt most praiseworthy in our judgment, but often leading him to disregard the form of Paul's thoughts. We like the theology of this commentary better than its exegesis. It is well to point out the vital and spiritual contents of Paul's thought-forms, but it is not well to explain away those forms or to make them identical with our own. For practical purposes the essential content is the main interest, but for critical and historical interpretation, it is needful to follow the very lines of the apostle's own thinking, and, for the time, to run our thought into his moulds. We think Dr. Abbott has too frequently run Paul's thought into his own moulds. The work is one of much vigor and vivacity. It is an excellent and useful book, but it takes too little account of the peculiarities of the apostle's thought to be always reliable for critical study. Paul was certainly a mystic, but not a nineteenth century mystic. His mysticism was determined in its peculiarities by both his Jewish training and his own qualities of mind. His modes of reasoning were largely "forensic," and the "forensic interpreters" so far have an advantage in interpreting his forms of thought, though they have always been in danger of identifying the forms with the substance and of building their systems as much upon the former as upon the latter.

The volume is nearly equally divided between expository remarks and essays or *excursus* on topics related to the course of thought in the epistle or bearing more generally upon the apostle's doctrine. The strictures which we should pass upon the work are no disparagement of its deep spiritual earnestness and practical helpfulness.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

STEARNS' INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT* is a brief handbook designed as a guide for the students of the English Old Testament. The general character of each book is succinctly described, its contents analyzed, and the literary and historical problems connected with it indicated. Copious references are given to literature bearing upon the various books as well as to discussions of special topics connected with them.

* *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament.* By O. S. STEARNS, D.D., Professor in Newton Theological Institution. Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston. pp. 148

Great difficulties beset the preparation of a really useful volume of this kind. There are so many problems connected with the subjects treated that to omit them and try to state only what is certain often reduces the author's affirmations to a few meagre generalities. The shortest section is that noted as § 5, under the article on Canticles. It reads: "Difficulties—many and unsolvable."

Within the limits which the author set for himself he has certainly provided the student who seeks a general familiarity with Old Testament literature with much useful information and still further, has pointed out to him the sources from which he may obtain an immense amount of discussion and argument, if not always, information.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

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L. O. BRASTOW.

* *Spirit and Life*. Thoughts for to-day. By AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D., First Congregational Church, Montclair, N. J. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1888.

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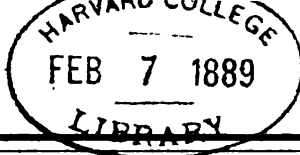
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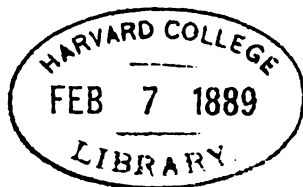
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NEW ENGLANDER

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No. CCXXVII.

FEBRUARY, 1889.

ARTICLE I.—PROFESSOR SHEDD'S DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

Dogmatic Theology. By W. G. T. SHEDD, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Two vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, 1888. 8vo, pp. 546, 803.

THERE are two classes of inquiries which every work on Systematic Theology which appears in our time must meet. One relates to the Biblical, the other to the philosophical groundwork of the system. Biblical criticism will no longer pass unchallenged the use of proof-texts which do not legitimately establish the propositions maintained, nor will the philosophical spirit of our time accept the metaphysics of theology without close inquiry as to its rational grounds. We have before us the latest product of American Doctrinal Theology, in two portly volumes. The author is distinguished by his previous contributions to theological literature and by his long period of service

as Professor in two of our foremost theological institutions. He is well known as a leading representative of the type of theology of which Augustine and Calvin are the great historic exponents. He avows his adherence (Pref., pp. vi. vii.) to it as against the more modern modes of thought in theology, declaring his conviction that in former ages "there were some men who thought more deeply, and came nearer to the center of truth upon some subjects, than any modern minds."

Whatever may be thought of the opinions advocated, it will not be doubted that the author's labors are characterized by deep seriousness and intense conviction regarding the themes treated. The sense of the importance of the great problems of Christian Theology which pervades Dr. Shedd's volumes, entitles the spirit and purpose of his treatise to the respect of all who dissent from his opinions. The doctrinal position of the author makes it especially desirable to consider some of the Biblical and philosophical phases of his system. This it shall be our aim to do, trusting that the selection of points of special present interest here and there will not be taken as indicating what we might say of other parts of the work.

The chapter on "Bibliology" whose main topics are Revelation and Inspiration first enlists our attention. Revelation is distinguished as general or unwritten, and special or written. The former kind of revelation is fallible because of human depravity and limitations in appropriating it (p. 66). In the case of written revelation freedom from error is secured by inspiration. Those who are the organs of special revelation are also inspired to express and record the revelation infallibly (pp. 70, 71). One might ask why the distinction between unwritten and written should make all the difference between fallible and infallible revelation. If fallible and depraved men are in both cases made the organs of divine revelation, how is it that the imperfections of the media should in all cases of unwritten revelation so affect the result as to render it fallible and in no case so affect the written result in any manner or degree? Might not one, in conceivable and perhaps in actual cases, be as infallibly inspired to speak or to act as to write? In these assumed distinctions, of which it is almost too little to say that no proof is given, lie the germs of the author's whole theory of the Bible.

Inspiration and infallibility must be confined and limited to the Book. It must therefore be carefully denied at the outset that they can pertain to any person for any purpose except for that of writing a part of the Bible. All this is done by simple *a priori* dogmatic definition.

The author's view is that inspiration secures inerrancy. "All this Biblical history, chronology, and geography, differs from corresponding matter in uninspired literature, by being unmixed with error" (p. 69). Inspired men may obtain their information either by divine revelation or in ordinary ways, but "inspiration insures freedom from error in presenting the truth which has been obtained" (p. 70). In this connection it is said that "inspiration goes no further than this," i. e., no further than to guard from error, but on page 85 it is stated that inspiration differs from regeneration, "in that the aim (of inspiration) is not to impart holiness, *but information*." "This shows that inspiration is only intellectual illumination." "They (the Biblical writers) had a perfect knowledge on the points respecting which they were inspired" (p. 85). Passing the point that to inspiration is assigned, in these two different connections, widely differing range and functions, the matter of chief interest is to see by what arguments the absolute freedom from error on the part of the Scripture writers, even extending to perfect chronology and geography, is supported.

After the Westminster Confession is cited in evidence, seven passages of Scripture are cited as "proofs of the infallibility of the Scriptures" (p. 73). They are: II Tim. iii. 16, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." Those who are skeptical as to Dr. Shedd's theory will make at least three abatements from the force of this passage for the author's purpose: (1) That the passage should be translated as in the R. V.: "Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching," etc., where the *profitableness* of scripture is the main quality affirmed and where no declaration of the *scope* of inspiration is necessarily found. (2) That, at most, the statement can in strictness refer only to the Old Testament. (3) That it predicates *inspiration* of the Scriptures and not *infallibility* and hence has no bearing on the particular theory of inspiration required to be proved. The second "proof" is: Heb.

i. 1, 2, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last times spoken unto us by his Son." That this passage asserts that a revelation was made through certain Biblical writers (though the terms are not so specific as to be limited to those who *wrote*) may be maintained, but that it asserts, implies, or suggests the idea of the absolute infallibility of any, to say nothing of all Biblical authors, could never be imagined by anyone who was not under the spell of an *a priori* theory and under much stress for "proofs." The next is I Cor. ii. 13, "Which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." The connection here must have escaped the author's attention. The chapter is a description of the method and spirit of Paul's *preaching* at Corinth when he founded the church there, and if his language implied any claim on Paul's part to infallible knowledge of religious truth so as to make it a cogent proof-text for establishing the infallibility of the apostle, it would establish that infallibility primarily for his *preaching* and would so far imperil rather than support Dr. Shedd's theory of exclusively infallible *written* revelation. The reader must judge of the force of the other four "proofs" of infallibility, upon whose use for the definition in question I forbear to comment. They are: II Pet. i. 21, "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost"; John v. 39, "Search the Scriptures" (which however should read: "Ye search the Scriptures, as the context shows and as the R. V. and most modern scholars render); Rom. iii. 2, "Unto them were committed the oracles of God"; Isa. viii. 22, "Look ye to the law and to the testimony."

The proof, and the whole proof of the theory in question is before the reader. There are quotations from theologians and affirmations by the author, but everything of the nature of argument is presented above (vid. p. 73). With the merits of the theory presented we are not here concerned. We do not hesitate to say, however, that the theory as maintained by Dr. Shedd is not deduced from the Scriptures, but is of a purely *a priori* character and is unsupported by any arguments which approach to the nature of cogent evidence. The theory is implicitly con-

tained in the definitions and assumptions with which the discussion starts. There are three presuppositions (vid. pp. 74-77) which yield the theory in advance entirely independent of any question of evidence or fact. They are: (1.) The difficulty of distinguishing and assigning values higher and lower to what Dr. Shedd calls the "primary" and "secondary" elements of Scripture, i. e., of distinguishing between elements of human imperfection and the essential contents of divine truth. No such distinction, in Dr. Shedd's opinion, can be made or applied. "The primary and the secondary, the doctrinal and the historical elements of Scripture, stand or fall together" (p. 75). (2.) It is *a priori* improbable that God would permit any inaccuracy to cleave to his revelation. (3.) This is the easiest theory to maintain. It is certain that from an *a priori* standing-point this last consideration is the great attraction of the view taken. But what shall be said of the numberless conflicts with undeniable fact into which the theory brings us? It is easiest to maintain in mere definition and assertion, but not in the face of inductive investigation and historic fact. To make close and difficult discriminations, such as an inductive theory of inspiration is obliged to undertake, may not be a welcome task, but the making of difficult distinctions is not a necessity from which the conscientious student and investigator should think himself absolved. His method will have the great disadvantage of being difficult, and will, of course, be liable to error, but it has the advantage of helping on religious thought toward a theory which shall square with the phenomena of the Bible as determined by patient and prolonged historic research and criticism, as opposed to that purely rationalistic procedure which grounds its views of the Bible on the necessities of a speculative system of theology. It has the further advantage of commending itself to the scientific spirit of our age, of fostering respect for theological methods, and of commending the Bible, as it is, to those minds which, though not averse to evangelical religion, are weary of those claims of formal infallibility in record, chronology, and geography which all study of the Bible disproves.

A single additional example of the discussion of this subject should be adduced before we pass to another point. The author

remarks (p. 77) that "the fact that the skeptic can ask a question which the believer cannot answer, is not proof that the skeptic's own position is the truth, or that the believer's position is false." Axiomatically true! But the so-called "skeptic" might readily reply with the equally obvious truth that the mere affirmation of a proposition by a theologian "is not proof that the theologian's own position is the truth." So too, Dr. Shedd's statement that "the unsolved difficulties respecting inspiration have often been palmed off as positive arguments for his own position, by the unbeliever" (p. 77) ought, in perfect fairness to all sides, to be supplemented by its correlative fact that the unverified assertions of theologians have often been palmed off as established propositions.

We pass to the description of the way in which the infallibility of the Biblical record has been secured. In general, this was done by the inspiration of a few select individuals. Neither the Hebrew people nor the Christian church, as a whole, enjoyed the gift of divine inspiration. In this connection certain "errors" on the part of those who assign a wider scope to inspiration are noted, and, first of all, the "error" of Weiss who "assumes that the gospels, primarily, were the product of the primitive church as a whole, not of the Apostolic circle exclusively." Weiss's "error" leads him to the view that the four gospels were not "composed directly or indirectly by *four Apostles*," and that "the primitive account of Christ's words and deeds was very fragmentary, and was subsequently supplemented and worked over into the four gospels as the Church now has them" (p. 82).

In opposition to this view, Dr. Shedd declares that "the twelve Apostles were expressly commissioned by their master, *to prepare an account* (*italics his*) of his life and teachings and were promised divine aid and guidance in doing it," and for the proof of this commission direct from Christ, *to write the four gospels*, Dr. Shedd cites Matt. x. 5-20, the narrative which contains the charge to the twelve when sent out on their missionary tour; John xiv. 25, 26, the promise of the Spirit (which, of course, applies to the disciples in general) and xv. 13-15: "Greater love has no man than this," etc. From the remoteness of this quotation from the point in hand

we infer that some other passage must have been intended. But the climax of this account of the origin of the Gospels is reached in the affirmation that this teaching of the Apostles (i. e., "the common narrative of the twelve Apostles respecting the life, teachings, and miracles of their Lord," p. 83) was committed to writing *by those four of the twelve Apostles* to whom the four canonical gospels have been attributed for nearly twenty centuries" (p. 84).

We think it unfortunate for Dr. Shedd to have undertaken a criticism of the views of Weiss, the most eminent New Testament specialist in Germany. That Weiss has given the substantially correct account of the origin of our gospels as determined by the scholarship of modern times, in contrast to the utterly groundless and obsolete opinions of our author, is known to all students of the subject. The prologue of Luke's gospel distinctly asserts that "many" had written "narratives" of our Lord's doings and sayings, prior to the writing of his gospel, which is precisely what Weiss states when he speaks of the primitive accounts of Christ's words and deeds as "very fragmentary." The statement that the writers of the four gospels were directly commissioned by Christ to write these narratives is without a shadow of proof, and is sought to be supported by a most flagrant misuse of texts. We can, however, see that the exigencies of theory seem to demand even this groundless assertion. But the statement that the four gospels were written "by four of the twelve Apostles" (p. 84), is so astonishing a misstatement of fact that we have been at a loss how to account for it. Mark and Luke were not of the Twelve, nor were they Apostles in that more loose and comprehensive sense in which the word is applied to Paul and James, the Lord's brother. Only three of the twelve Apostles—Matthew, Peter, and John—wrote any part of the New Testament, and six of the nine New Testament writers were outside the circle of the Twelve. Our first thought was that Dr. Shedd intended to ascribe Mark's gospel to Peter because of the Church tradition which associates Mark with that Apostle. But there is no evidence that Peter was in any sense the *writer* of the gospel, and even then Luke is left unexplained. If Luke's gospel is called Paul's, as it is by Chrysostom, the diffi-

culty that Paul was not one of the Twelve, remains. In the prologue of his gospel, moreover, Luke distinctly classes himself among the "many" to whom had been handed down the apostolic tradition and not among the "eye-witnesses;" that is, he places himself in the post-apostolic period.

We have consulted a number of scholars upon the question as to what Dr. Shedd could have meant by this astonishing statement, and have received no suggestion. The ground or possibility of such an assertion by a reputable theologian as that the four gospels were written by four of the twelve Apostles, remains to us an insoluble mystery. In further reference to Weiss's opinions, Shedd gives it as a part of Weiss's view that "there was an original Mark." This opinion Weiss does not hold, but combats in every treatise which he has ever published touching the subject. In proof we quote from his latest work (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 509): "True as it is that the hypothesis of a primitive Mark appears to explain more easily many phenomena in the relation of our parallel texts and, through the assumption of two independent sources, to simplify the synoptic problem, yet the same must be abandoned because it cannot be brought into any satisfactory form and only raises greater difficulties, as even its originator has in substance admitted."

The entire space at our command might be occupied with pointing out the inaccuracies and unproved assertions in this chapter on Inspiration. A few further examples are the following: Luke wrote his gospel "under the superintendence of Paul" (p. 83). It would be interesting to hear Dr. Shedd's proof of this. Again: "Immer, Hermeneutics, p. 18, argues against the infallibility of Paul because of the failure of his memory in regard to a certain particular (I Cor. xiv. 16). Because the apostle could not remember how many persons he had baptized, therefore his teaching in I Cor. xv. respecting the resurrection is fallible. Upon the same principle he should deny St. Paul's infallibility because he was ignorant of the steam engine or telegraph" (p. 87, note). Does Dr. Shedd really suppose that he is here treating Immer's language with fairness? That critic, in the place referred to, alludes to the fact that Paul does not claim infallibility for himself and adds

that "a *lapseus memoriae* could befall him." He "argues" nothing whatever from this fact beyond what the fact contains. Dr. Shedd now saddles upon Dr. Immer, by implication and as a legitimate conclusion of his statements of fact, the fallibility of Paul's doctrine of the resurrection. A conclusion is drawn by Dr. Shedd himself a thousand times as large as Immer's statements warrant, and held up to the reader as a specimen of Immer's irreverence for Biblical teaching. Whatever irreverence is excited by this method of controversy will not be directed toward those against whom it is employed. Immer simply states a fact. Does Dr. Shedd deny it? He cannot. The statements are statements of fact, not of theory. What then? He proceeds to draw an enormous and totally unwarranted conclusion from Immer's statement and to impute it to him with all the implications of false logic which the conclusion suggests. It is but just to remark that the false logic attaches to the person by whom the conclusion was drawn, which, in this case, was not Immer.

We find among the curiosities of this chapter the statement that "the author of Proverbs denominates the second trinitarian person Wisdom" (p. 91), which requires the supposition that this writer was a Trinitarian; and the assertion that "Scripture itself asserts verbal inspiration" (p. 93), with "proofs" which are exegetically as inconclusive as those heretofore adverted to.

Our author is not insensible to the difficulties which beset his theory. He considers first the objection from errors and discrepancies in the Bible. He seems to admit discrepancies but he meets the difficulty by the principle that "the correction of a book by itself is different from its correction by other books" (p. 93). "The Bible is self-rectifying. The book furnishes materials for its own verification. When Scripture explains, or if need be, corrects Scripture, the divine explains and verifies the divine; inspiration explains inspiration; spiritual things are compared with spiritual, I Cor. ii. 13" (p. 94). If we understand this principle it means that if one book of the Bible corrects an error in another book, then there is no error at all. Now this maxim has a certain true sense and use. If the morality of the Sermon on the Mount, for example, cor-

rects that of the Pentateuch, then the *Biblical* morality is to be judged from the higher standard and stage of revelation. The principle is properly applied to the truthfulness and trustworthiness of the Bible as a whole. But in connection with Dr. Shedd's theory of verbally infallible inspiration it is a boomerang. "The Bible *rectifies* itself," i. e. one part corrects another part, which is an admission that the other part was *so far wrong*. When Dr. Shedd wrote: "When Scripture *explains*, or if need be, *corrects* Scripture," why did he add "the divine *explains* and *verifies* the divine," instead of keeping to the terms of his protasis and saying, "the divine *explains* and *corrects* the divine?" Does he avoid following out the admissions of the maxim implied in "rectifying" and "correcting" in the consciousness that they cut the ground from underneath his theory of inspiration? This is, at any rate, the fact. The Bible cannot be in all points and parts infallible, if it is a "self-rectifying" and "self-correcting" book. The maxim in the sense in which it is a true and proper one is absolutely inconsistent with Shedd's whole theory, and in the only sense in which it would harmonize with his theory it is conspicuously false and absurd.

The author has a remarkable method of dealing with the New Testament citations from the Old. He admits that the New Testament writers sometimes vary in the use of their citations from the original meaning, but says that these variations are not erroneous because they are *intentional* (p. 100). They were divinely guided to vary from the sense of the original. The maxim requires the supposition that divine inspiration sometimes directed the New Testament writers to quote from the Septuagint where it differs materially from the original, to quote passages from one book which are found in another, and even to give, as quotations from Scripture, passages not found in the Old Testament at all. These must certainly be extreme cases where since the divine corrects the divine, there can be no inaccuracy. We may add that this whole apologetic assumes a kind of unity for the Bible which is not according to fact and treats the statements of the various books as if they were all and severally the utterances in some way of a half-personified unity which has such a personal identity that

what it says at one time it supplements or corrects, like an indivisible ego, at another.

It will not be inferred by any candid reader that, in making these strictures, we are detracting from the inspiration or authority of the Scriptures. There is a true doctrine of inspiration, which, whatever difficulties may attend it, is deduced from Scripture and adjusted to the results of history and criticism and not superimposed upon Scripture. This theory may not be so hard and fast as Dr. Shedd's because it holds itself subject to modification as investigation proceeds, but not less than Dr. Shedd's, it maintains for the Holy Scriptures a unique character and a paramount authority. It lays its chief emphasis, not upon a formal infallibility of record and chronology, but upon the essential content of divine revelation contained in the Bible. This is the view which, as a matter of fact, is making progress and winning consent.

We pass from these notices of the theory concerning the Bible to some of the uses made of it in establishing doctrine. We open Vol. II at the chapter on Vicarious Atonement (p. 378). The passages are first cited in which the vicariousness of Christ's sufferings is denoted by the preposition *ἀντὶ* (*instead of*). The first is Matt. xx. 28, "The Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for (*ἀντὶ*) many." This is right. It should, however, be remarked that the use of the preposition meaning "*instead of*" is determined by the figure of the *ransom-price* implying the notion of payment and exchange (so in the only two passages where this preposition is used of the sacrifice of Christ. Cf. the use of *ἀντὶλύτρον*, I Tim. ii. 6). The next element of Scripture proof stands thus: Matt. x. 45, "This is my body which is given for (*ἀντὶ*) you." Turning to Matt. x. 45 we find that the reference is wrongly given. Perhaps *Mark* x. 45 is intended. Turning to it we find some evidence that it was meant, for here *ἀντὶ* is used (and here *only*, besides the passage above cited, in application to Christ's sacrifice), but the passage is simply the parallel to Matt. xx. 28 (above cited) and contains the same words. It cannot be intended to cite this a second time. Turning next to Luke xxii. 19, where the words cited: "This is my body," etc., occur, we find the passage evidently intended, but there the preposition *ἀντὶ* is not found in

any known manuscript or text of the New Testament. What, then, are the peculiarities of this use of Scripture? Under Matt. x. 45, Luke xxii. 19 is cited; instead of the preposition *ἐπὶ* found in Luke xxii. 19, *ἀντὶ* is introduced from Mark x. 45. But Mark x. 45 is parallel and identical with Matt. xx. 28 already cited. Thus by this three-fold error it is made to appear that there are *two* passages where *ἀντὶ* is used of Christ's sacrifice, whereas there is but one (i. e. two parallel passages identical in terms) and in that case the preposition is explained by the figure as above indicated. We do not mean to reflect at all upon Dr. Shedd's doctrinal opinion in question here, but we may venture to express, in general, our apprehension regarding results attained in the process of such exegesis.

We turn to the chapter on Justification and are confronted early in the chapter (p. 543) with the statement of the Westminster Confession: "God justifieth, *not by imputing faith itself*, the act of believing, but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ." The statement, especially the denial that *God imputes faith itself* in justification, has always interested me in connection with the "proof-texts" which are cited to support it in the Confession, among which are: Rom. iv. 5, sq., "But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, *his faith is counted* (i. e. imputed) for *righteousness*." Six times in the fourth of Romans alone faith is said to be "imputed for righteousness," not to mention the same statement several times repeated in Galatians and in the epistle of James (ii. 23). Paul's doctrine is explicitly that of the *imputation of faith*. The motive for denying the Apostle's plain and oft-repeated statement, in Calvinistic theology, was to avoid the danger of admitting that anything which man was able to do (e. g. his exercise of faith) could become the cause of his salvation. The motive was worthy in itself, but the necessity of practicing such violence upon Paul's statements would have been removed by rightly apprehending his doctrine of faith, which by its very nature excludes the claim or possibility of human merit in salvation. In its very nature, faith is not a human achievement whereby man can mount into God's favor, but a humble and trustful reception of God's mercy in Christ. Dr. Shedd is still committed to this old misapprehension and

flatly denies Paul's statements in order to avoid dangers which those statements, in their true meaning and intention, do not require or even permit. This denial is not necessary. Paul's system coheres well together. The correct meaning and force of Paul's language are rightly stated by Gerhard in commenting upon his doctrine of the imputation of faith: "The apostle is speaking of faith, not as it is a quality inhering in us (for in that respect it does not justify, since it is obedience to only one commandment, is imperfect, and long already due), but as it apprehends the redemption of Christ. Since Christ and faith are said to be at the same time our righteousness, the consequence is that faith is and is called our righteousness, because it apprehends Christ's righteousness and makes it ours." The old formula that we are justified by the imputation to us of Christ's merit which may have so profound and true a meaning, is expounded by Dr. Shedd with that formal and forensic one-sidedness in which it is difficult to find the real spiritual content of the Biblical doctrine.

The principal philosophical interest of the book centers in the author's realistic theory of human nature according to which all mankind were actually present in Adam and voluntarily committed his first sin. A few of Dr. Shedd's definitions of this doctrine may interest the reader. "Man was originally one single human nature, which by propagation became millions of persons" (II. 77). "Each human person is a *portion* of the human nature, etc." (II. 78) "Adam and Eve were two human persons created by God on the sixth day. In and with them God also created the entire invisible nature of the human species; the masculine side of it in Adam, the feminine in Eve" (II. 78). "This son (Cain) was an individualized part of the psychico-physical nature which was created and included in the parents. Abel was another individualized part," (II. 79). "By ordinary generation, the specific nature was further subdivided and individualized into millions of persons" (II. 78). Human nature is then capable of separation into parts. All human nature was in the first pair and the various portions composing it have ever since been separated off by propagation until the distribution has now mounted up to countless millions. And each part of this undistributed nature of which any

particular individual consists, was present in Adam, who had all humanity in himself, in such a sense that it could actually and voluntarily participate in his sin and incur guilt and condemnation in consequence of its commission of that sin. "This first sin in both of its parts, internal and external, is imputed to Adam and his posterity as sin and guilt, because they committed it." (II. 181).

To the objection that, if we were in Adam, we must have committed all his sins as well as the first, Dr. Shedd replies that the first sin differed from all subsequent ones by being a violation of "the probationary statute," while the others were only violations of the moral law. We should like to have been informed wherein the "probationary statute" differed from moral law. If it was not a moral law, how could its transgression be the deepest and direst of sins? The fact seems to be that Dr. Shedd here falls back upon the theory of Adam's representative headship, which he elsewhere rejects, in order to parry this objection. He places the first sin in a category by itself. "This statute and this transgression alone were to test the obedience of the race. (II. 88). He is here availing himself of the federal theory, that Adam, in the first trial, stood as a representative of the race. This he is obliged to do. If we were really in Adam, we were as really in him after the first sin as before, and as truly participated in his subsequent sins as in his first. On Dr. Shedd's theory he cannot answer this objection. He can do so only by resorting to a theory which he elsewhere repudiates. A glaring inconsistency is then left in his system.

But he has another reason. "Only the first act of sin is imputed, because the entire posterity were in Adam and Eve when it was committed, but ceased to be in them afterwards" (II. 88). But this explanation does not cover the period between the first transgression and the birth of Cain. All human nature was in Adam and Eve up to the time when a "portion" of the nature went off in Cain. The sins of the undistributed nature must pertain to that nature, on Dr. Shedd's own premises, until it begins to be distributed. Moreover, the separation from the mass of a part of the nature in the birth of Cain, does not affect what was left. Dr. Shedd says that "the

conception of the first individual of the species destroys the original unity" (II. 89). Yes, but after Cain was born, everybody else was left in Adam. The rest of us were not "individualized" yet, and many of us did not become so for a long period. It is vain to say in explanation that "Cain was no longer in Adam;" *We* were there just the same, and Dr. Shedd does not show how or why it is that, if we continued to be in Adam, we did not continue to commit his sins, and we venture to say that, on his principles, he cannot. If the will of Adam ever had in it my will in such a sense that I could literally sin when he sinned, it had it so as truly and in the same sense in the second transgression as in the first, and as truly after, as before, Cain's birth. For if I was any less there after than before, then some portion of me must have been carried off by Cain in his differentiation which brings us to a view never claimed by the theory. If this individualization of Cain alters the status or condition of those portions of the nature which are left, it must be because he carries away with him so much of that nature as shall be distributed in his own descendants to the end of time. In that case Cain's descendants would derive their human nature from him and why would they not on the premises of this realism be guilty of *his* sins? If we sinned in Adam as this theory claims, Dr. Shedd is powerless to show that we did not sin also in all our other ancestors unless he resort for explanation to the theory of federal headship.

In further reply to this objection, Dr. Shedd says that in case the sins of Adam, between the first sin and the birth of Cain were imputed at all, "the imputation would not lie upon any *individual persons* of the posterity, for there are none, but only upon the non-individualized nature" (II. 90). But neither were there any "individualized persons" except Adam and Eve, in the nature which committed the *first sin*. Why, then, should the imputation of *this sin* lie upon the "individual persons?" Surely if non-individualization is a protection against the imputation of Adam's sins to *persons*, that protection must apply to the effect of the *first sin* as well as to that of subsequent ones.

But enough! We do not forget Dr. Shedd's maxim that difficulties, attaching to an hypothesis, do not necessarily dis-

prove it; nor are we at all skeptical in regard to mysteries, but we cannot help thinking that something depends upon the nature and magnitude of the difficulties. Dr. Shedd's theory purports to be an *explanation*; but is an explanation which does not *explain*. New difficulties spring up at every step of the solution; until at last the whole theory, mingled with incongruous elements from rival theories, and laden with a mass of difficulties which it is utterly powerless to support, breaks down hopelessly from its own weight. It would seem that the mind which can bind upon itself the burdens of this theory need not shrink back from any opinion known to the history of speculative thought, by reason of rational obstacles to belief.

Dr. Shedd's doctrine of the atonement is familiar to students of theology from an extended essay on the subject published some years since. It is built upon the postulate that to be just is a necessity of God's nature, but to be benevolent is a matter of choice. A sharp antithesis is affirmed between these two attributes and "atonement is correlated to justice, not to benevolence" (II. 434). We deem the theory subject to two great difficulties: (1) It cannot explain the genesis of redemption. If this antithesis between justice and mercy exists in God, and justice must always be strictly carried out, how can mercy make itself successfully heard or win the day against the requirement of inexorable justice which demands the sinner's punishment? Either the nature of God and the meaning of his justice are wrongly defined here, or the definitions are not carried to their logical conclusions, which would hopelessly shut out mercy for the sinner. If it is answered that justice *is* done in that Christ is punished for us, then a second difficulty, greater than the first, confronts us: (2) the principle of strict justice is *sum cuique*. How can another *in mere justice* be punished for *my* sin? It is a *contradictio in adjecto*. If the action of God in relation to human sin is to proceed on the basis of mere justice, and if the atonement is correlated only to that attribute, then somehow Christ and the sinner must be *one* in such a sense that when Christ is punished the sinner is punished also. Penal justice requires the *sinner's* punishment; if he is not punished, then the plan by which he is liberated from penalty is correlated to some other attribute of God, besides

mere retributive justice, since retributive justice is not literally carried out. The theory thus topples over.

An impression, not wholly incorrect, of the author's eschatology may be conveyed by the fact that his chapter on Heaven consists of two pages, while that on Hell contains eighty-eight. Upon the general contents of these chapters we will not tarry further than to mention two points, viz: (1) that Dr. Shedd espouses the obsolescent opinion, that Sheol and Hades denote, in most cases, the same as Gehenna or Hell, that is, that they are used specifically of the place or state of eternal punishment; (2) that he seems to leave room for the salvation of all infants dying in infancy, by speaking of "the supposition, now common in the Evangelical Churches, that all infants, dying in infancy, being elect, are 'regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth'" (West. Conf. X. 3). Dr. Shedd's divergence at this point, from the Confession, is noticeable. There we read: "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated, etc." Dr. Shedd makes possible the inference that his own belief is, that "all infants, being elect, are regenerated," a materially different position from that which the Confession meant to affirm, a position, moreover, which is utterly baseless if Dr. Shedd's theory of sin be correct. It is not strange that he passes over the subject of infant-salvation with a single non-committal sentence. There is no logical place in his system for "the supposition now common" "that all infants" are elect and saved. Does Dr. Shedd believe that they are? He has refrained from expressing a positive opinion. It is more creditable to his consistency if he holds with the plain and intended implication of the Confession that some infants, dying in infancy, are elect, and others lost. It is well known that the "supposition now common" on this subject is the spontaneous outcome of Christian feeling, and is, in no measure, due to the type of theology which Dr. Shedd represents, but has come to prevail *in spite of it*. At this point the Calvinistic theology fails to have that courage of its own definitions and methods, which it once had, and either introduces some lame and illogical explanation, or, as Dr. Shedd does, throws in an evasive reference to the "common supposi-

tion," which his system would, however, render, in the highest degree, improbable.

We desire here to direct attention to Dr. Shedd's treatment of the German theologians Dorner and Müller. He calls attention (II. 701) to statements like this from Dorner: "No one will be damned merely on account of the common sin and guilt. But everyone is definitely brought to [*"guilty"*—inserted by Dr. S.] personal decision only through the gospel." From this Dr. Shedd infers the following: "This implies that man's sin against the moral law is not sufficient to condemn him to eternal death. He must sin against the gospel before he can be so condemned" (II. 701, note). Whether this is a fair statement of Dorner's position may be judged by the following quotations from that theologian (Syst. Chn. Doct., III. 72, 73; II. 178 in original). "But from this position of Christ as the one who brings the crisis and the one against whom alone the *highest guilt can* be committed, it does not follow that evil prior to Christ *was not evil in the proper sense, was not laden with guilt and culpability*, though in a different degree or measure, and did not therefore make atonement necessary." "*As little right as the sinful creature has to the grace of God and to liberation from punishment*, so little is the administration of grace or punishment arbitrary, rather is it bound up with ethical laws; and since the sin is undoubtedly more heavy and criminal which opposes itself in scorn and defiance to the highest demonstration of love, to forgiving, nay, atoning love, it is conformable with justice that decision should be judged according to the relation to Christ." The following points, then, concerning Dorner's opinions are to be noted: (1) Sin prior to and apart from Christ—sin against the moral laws alone—is guilty and exposes the soul to just divine punishment. Dr. Shedd denies that this is a part of Dorner's view, and by inserting the word "*guilty*" in the sentence quoted places upon his statement an entirely incorrect emphasis. Dorner's meaning is that the *final* decision of the soul's destiny is determined only by its attitude towards Christ. Dr. Shedd makes him say that the soul is not determined *as guilty* by the "common sin" but only by the rejection of Christ. Dr. Shedd states as Dorner's view, that the "common sin and guilt"—sin which is not the

personal rejection of Christ—"does not deserve endless punishment and is not in danger of it" (II. 702) but Dorner himself says that this sin is "laden with guilt and culpability," "makes atonement necessary" and that, on account of it, the sinner "has no right to the grace of God or to liberation from punishment." (2) It is true that Dorner lays much stress upon the principle that, in the grace of God, Christ as the world's Redeemer will, in some way, be made known to every soul before his final destiny shall be fixed, and that, since the heinousness of sin bears a proportion to the light bestowed upon men, the rejection of Christ, God's highest revelation, is a sin above all other sins, and that, as matter of fact, this pitch of sin alone will actually condemn men to endless punishment. This is true, however, not as a matter of right or just claim on man's part, but as a matter of grace on God's part. Dr. Shedd totally misrepresents Dorner when he states that this theologian holds that man has a right to demand salvation from the common sin and guilt. A part of this misrepresentation is due to the different senses in which the two theologians employ the word "justice." Dorner does say that it is "conformable with justice" that the final decision of the soul's destiny should be determined only from its attitude toward God's fullest revelation in Christ. But by justice Dorner means God's rightness—all that makes him the perfect Being which he is, while with Shedd, justice is merely his attribute of right-doing in relation to man's deserts—the *quid pro quo* element of the divine nature as contrasted with benevolence. Justice with Dorner is God's total perfection, and includes the ideas of benevolence and grace; with Shedd it is the antithesis of these. When, then, our author quotes Dorner's language and assigns to his words the same range and application which he himself connects with the terms, he does him the greatest injustice. (3) Dr. Shedd's charge that the soteriology of Dorner and Müller is "self-stultifying" proceeds upon this radical misrepresentation of their principles. He says that both hold that sin is guilty and punishable and yet, in eschatology, both inconsistently represent "that the divine perfection requires that the offer of forgiveness be made, sooner or later, to every sinner; that there will be a defect in the benevolence and a blemish in the char-

acter of the supreme Being, if he does not tender a pardon to every transgression of his law. Their eschatology thus contradicts their hamartiology" (II. 704). That this statement is utterly unwarranted in regard to Müller we shall show presently. In the case of Dorner it has an appearance of justification only. Dorner does not contemplate any such possibility as that these should be "a blemish in the character of God;" he makes no such supposition and does not commit the absurdity of defending the divine Being against such a possible charge. His position is simply this: God is, as matter of fact, gracious and forgiving; that he will in his grace offer the possibility of salvation to all his creatures is a truth founded in his very nature as the perfectly good being; the contrary is inconceivable, God being what he is; his goodness to Himself, his justice to his own benignity requires it, but this requirement springs wholly from within his own essence and is not founded upon any claim of man's part, and is not, therefore, a requirement of justice towards man (as Shedd asserts that he teaches), but of justice towards his own nature as the gracious God. Shedd's conception of the divine attributes is carried over into Dorner's system. Dorner's terms are compressed into the form and size which they have in his interpreter's theology and then inferences are drawn from his language upon which meanings foreign to his thought have been foisted—inferences which Dorner never could have recognized as a part of his system. The principle of Dorner's soteriology is *grace* as truly as it is of Shedd's. The difference is that Dorner holds that in some way God's grace will afford the opportunity of salvation to all men, while Shedd holds that he will afford it to some and withhold it from others.

There is some excuse for Dr. Shedd's misstatement of Dorner's position, since it is easy for one thinker to interpret the words of another according to the meanings which he himself assigns to them and thus to draw from them wholly unwarranted inferences; but we consider that his misinterpretation of Julius Müller is less excusable. In his "Christian Doctrine of Sin" (II. 400), Müller makes a criticism upon Dorner's views of sin, as expressed in a review of this treatise, in which he points out the fact that Dorner had given too light an estimate

of the common sin and guilt—i. e., sin apart from Christ. In his "System" Dorner expressed himself more nearly in harmony with Müller's own view and believed that he had guarded himself against Müller's objection. In their fullest utterances they are at harmony in principle, though they doubtless differ in their opinions of the degree of guilt to be assigned to sins which do not amount to rejection of Christ. How now is it possible for Dr. Shedd to charge upon Müller the same defect of opinion on this point which he had himself pointed out and combatted in the earlier utterances of Dorner? We will here quote a few sentences of Müller's discussion directed against expressions of Dorner which, be it remembered, Dorner subsequently modified. "I, on the contrary, cannot think so lightly of man, even apart from redemption and his contact with it, but must maintain that his sin involves real and damnable guilt. . . . I do not, of course, deny that the greatest sins are possible only in relation to Christ; but wherever there is a consciousness of the moral law in its boldest outlines, and of its obligation as unconditionally binding, there we have the necessary condition of actual guilt, and this the consciousness of the natural man testifies. . . . The great blessing which Christ offers to man is reconciliation and the forgiveness of sin, but that reconciliation and forgiveness clearly presuppose the presence of real guilt" (II. 400). And yet Dr. Shedd can say that Müller discusses sin as an evil that is entitled to the offer of a pardon and a remedy" (II. 704), and can charge him with "logical inconsistency" and a "self-stultifying soteriology"! If some critic of Dr. Shedd's system should declare that the author was an Arminian and Pelagian, the statement would not be more obviously incorrect than is Dr. Shedd's representation of the theological position of Julius Müller.

In connection with this *exposé* of the self-contradictions of Dorner and Müller, Dr. Shedd takes occasion to animadvert upon the deficiency in logical power and philosophical grasp of the German theologians. "The reasoning is close, consecutive, and true in some sections; but loose, inconsequent, and false as a whole. The mind of the thinker when moving in the limited sphere, moves logically; but moving in the universe and attempting to construct a philosophy or theology of the Infinite,

fails utterly." "The logical inconsistency of such theologians as Dorner and Müller" is instanced in illustration. It is a happy circumstance that students of theology now have in their hands the antidote and corrective of the weak and inconsequent reasonings of such men as Twisten, Nitzsch, Ebrard, Rothe, Dorner, and Julius Müller, men trained in the closest scientific exegesis and profound and life-long students of philosophy. That it is these weak and inconsequent German theologians who are influencing and shaping the world's religious thought, must be a discouraging reflection to those exponents of ancient systems at whose exegesis all modern criticism stands aghast and whose philosophies long since became matter of ancient history.

Although we have thus expressed our dissent from many of Dr. Shedd's opinions, we are yet gratified at the appearance of this treatise which presents in its most extreme form a type of theology which is rapidly passing away. In no other way than by the presentation of it in full by one of its foremost advocates, could it be made so plainly to appear how unbiblical and untenable it is. If an opponent of this system should characterize the old orthodoxy in many of the terms and definitions which Dr. Shedd employs, we venture to assert that half the world would declare that the representation was a caricature. It is as certain as that the world moves that this theology has had its day. Different conceptions of God's character and government, together with a grammatico-historical interpretation of the Scriptures, are rapidly overturning its foundations. It can no longer win the assent of most thoughtful minds which, though not averse to religious truth, can only be satisfied with a conception of God and his revelation which meets the wants of the reason and the heart, and which does not offend the highest instincts of the soul.

We think it should be frankly stated that it is such theology as this which not only renders plausible the attacks of the infidel upon Christian doctrine, but repels many earnest minds and drives them into utter skepticism and unbelief. There are cases, not a few, where bright-minded men in our theological institutions have been driven to an attitude, where, if they must suppose that this theology is a correct presentation of Christian

doctrine, they have no option but to abandon the idea of the Christian ministry. The inquiring student finds the mechanical, verbal inspiration theories perpetually disproved by his investigations. What is he to do? If there is no more tenable view of the Bible and its inspiration than this, his faith is in imminent peril. In his reflection he is striving after a conception of the divine character which shall lend help and hopefulness to life and clothe the action of God in history with dignity and beauty and he is told that God is a being that must be just but may be benevolent or not, and that he has unconditionally selected some for salvation and has consigned the rest of mankind to eternal damnation in advance, because they, when a part of undistributed human nature in Adam, committed his first sin. What are we to expect if young men are made to believe that this is essential Christian truth and necessary to be believed and preached? We are to expect skepticism and an increasing aversion to the Christian ministry, if not indeed to all Christian belief, and shall experience it. But happily the thinking of this age will not be brought to this dilemma. This type of theology should, however, understand its responsibility. There are scores of thoughtful men in our Seminaries and in the ministry whose Christian faith was saved only by unloading from their minds these burdens of mediæval speculation which are too grievous to be borne, and attaining more rational and tolerable thoughts of God, man, and their relations.

It may be further observed that Dr. Shedd's type of theology is purely rationalistic. It claims, indeed, to be a Biblical Theology in systematic form, but we appeal to any candid student of it to say whether this claim is sustained. Its leading positions are throughout matter of *a priori* definition, and texts of Scripture are then adduced, often by strained and untenable exegesis, to support the positions defined. We do not mean to imply that there is any objection to *a priori* theology as such. But let it avow its true character and not claim to be simply a Biblical Theology. A speculative system may be true, but it is to be judged and tested by philosophical criteria and has no right to claim for itself the protection of direct Biblical authority. Many of Dr. Shedd's theories, such as that of inspiration and his philosophy of our identity with Adam, are not derived

from the Bible but superimposed upon it. The former must stand the tests of history and criticism and the latter those of philosophy and ethics in the open courts of judgment which take cognizance of such questions.

We should have been glad to speak with as much emphasis in commendation of some features of Dr. Shedd's treatise, as we have put upon what seem to us to be some of its difficulties and defects. There will be plenty of persons, however, who will perform this more pleasant and gratifying task. It has seemed to us to be worth while to speak with frankness upon the difficulties of this system of theology as they appear to one whose indoctrination in it was happily discontinued in time to save his faith in the Holy Scriptures and in evangelical Christianity. If I have written with considerable spirit and warmth, it is because I have reason to feel the importance of a theology which shall be at once Biblical and rational, a theology which can be preached, and which can be accepted—as we think Dr. Shedd's cannot—by the mass of earnest, thinking men of our age. Though differing radically from Dr. Shedd as to the teaching and methods which shall be able to accomplish the result, we are entirely at one with him in the desire and effort to promote reverent acceptance of the Scriptures and of every essential truth of evangelical religion, by the thought and life of our generation. Widely as we are compelled to differ from him and insuperable as we deem the objections to his system of thought, we desire to bear testimony to the clearness, fulness, and vigor with which Dr. Shedd has presented his opinions.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

ARTICLE II.—MR. PERCIVAL LOWELL'S MISCONCEPTION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE JAPANESE.

The Soul of the Far East. By PERCIVAL LOWELL, member of the Asiatic Society of Japan; author of "A Korean Coup d'Etat."

THIS is the title of the latest book on Japan and the Japanese. Its author is Mr. Percival Lowell. He does not, however, confine himself to Japan alone, but deals with the three nations of the extreme East—China, Corea, and Japan. But as he treats more particularly of the people of Japan, and as the book is full of exaggerated statements and fanciful inferences therefrom, I will venture to say a few words about the book to correct some of its errors, not simply in the interest of those of us who are natives of that country, but also for the benefit of many who are desirous to obtain a correct knowledge of the Mikado's Empire, and are solicitous for its welfare.

Nothing is so pleasing to the Japanese who are studying in this land of freedom and progress, in order to learn and carry back with us to our native island whatever is good and noble here in this great nation, as to observe the great interest manifested by the people here in the progress of our home lands. Japan owes a great debt to the United States for introducing her to the society of the Western nations, and feels grateful for what this great Republic has done towards her advancement in civilization. May the time soon come when Japan will stand among the community of civilized nations, as their equal; and possess the full political powers which are due to her as a sovereign State, but which are now unjustly taken away from her by the *Christian* nations of the world.

The present writer has no personal acquaintance with the author of the book which lies before him for comment. He cannot, however, help feeling that the author's knowledge of the Japanese is exceedingly superficial, and that he does not adequately understand and appreciate the spirit of the people. The book everywhere discloses his inadequate knowledge con-

cerning the real animating ethical power which has made Japan what she is to-day. It is hardly necessary to say that no one can discuss the characteristic traits of any nationality without fully entering into the spirit of that people. In Mr. Lowell's case, it is doubtful whether he has attained this essential requisite for writing a book which pretends to be a psychological analysis of the people of the Far East.

The author's attempt in writing this book is a hard but very interesting one. He undertakes to reveal to the readers what he regards to be the Soul of the Far East. What then is the Soul of the Far East? According to him, "the Soul of the Far East may be said to be *Impersonality*." (p. 15). That is to say, the Far Orientals have no idea of personality; they have not yet attained to the full consciousness of individuality. In short, "they are still in that childish state of development, before self-consciousness has spoiled the sweet simplicity of nature. An impersonal race seems never to have fully grown up." (p. 25). This *naïve* state of existence, Mr. Lowell believes is clearly shown in the family life, the language, the art, and the religion of the Orientals; and he proceeds to prove the validity of his thesis by citing the social customs and the religious ideas of the people.

It is not the object of this brief comment to scrutinize every example cited in the book, for there is neither space nor time to do so. Nor do I care to deny absolutely the statement that the idea of personality is somewhat less prominent in the Japanese character, than in the American. No candid mind can deny it, but this concession is something very different from Mr. Lowell's conclusion. It is beyond doubt, that his interpretation of those facts which he mentions is fanciful and unreal in the extreme. His inference, in many cases, is totally groundless, and entirely unjustifiable. He reads his own ideas into those facts, and draws out undreamed of inferences from them. Leaving then, all the details aside, I will simply mention a few points in which the book is defective.

The first point which I would like to note is that Mr. Lowell does not sufficiently recognize the class distinction which is a characteristic feature of the Far East, carrying with it a great difference in the manners and customs among the several

classes. What is a custom among the people of one class is not so among the people of another. This difference is more or less observable even in this country where all people are so much alike; but among the Japanese this class difference is much more marked, and ought to be fully recognized by one who writes of their habits and customs. Mr. Lowell cites whatever habit or custom confirms his thesis, without any notice in regard to the class difference. If a custom of the Samurai class is against his view, he entirely overlooks that, and going down to the class of Coolies, he finds his illustration there.

I refer as an example of this arbitrary way of treatment to Mr. Lowell's statement in regard to non-observance of birthdays among the Japanese. What he says may be true of the lower classes, but is not so of the higher classes. Does he not know that one of the great national holidays of Japan is the Mikado's birthday? Mr. Lowell also misunderstands the Japanese way of reckoning one's age, when he says: "From the moment he (the poor little Japanese baby) makes his appearance he is spoken of as a year old, and this same age he continues to be considered in most simple ease of calculation, till the beginning of the next calendar year" (p. 29). This is incorrect. It is not held that the baby ten days old is two years old after the first New Year's day, but that he is in his second year (Ni-sai). The error is evidently due to the author's ignorance of the meaning of the Japanese word (sai). When a Japanese wants to state how old the baby really is, he uses another phrase,—e. g. a Maru ni-nen (two complete years). This may seem unimportant, but what are we to think of a writer who so blunders in the language which he pretends to understand?

Inversely, what the author says of marriage is true for the higher classes, but not for the lower classes (p. 32). Among the lower classes it is not contracted by means of a middle man, it is almost as personal an affair as it is in this country.

Speaking of the religious belief of the people, Mr. Lowell seems to have made himself acquainted simply with what the lowest class of the people believe and generalizes it to be the universal belief of the people. Hence his treatment of religion is exceedingly inexact and unsatisfactory. It is surprisingly superficial. He does not seem at all to comprehend

what is going on in Japan to-day, when he says: "They accept our material civilization, but reject our creeds." This is true if he means by "creeds" various systems of theology, but is absolutely incorrect if he means they reject the Christian religion.

Another thing to be said is that the learned author does not state the difference between the Chinese and the Japanese. It is hardly necessary to discuss this point here, as the difference is familiar to him who knows anything of these two peoples. The one is extremely conservative, while the other is progressive. The one is slow and the other impulsive. The one is grave and sober, but the other quick-witted and lively, etc. While no one will deny that they have many points of similarity, it is a view fruitful of error to regard them as identical in their temperament and character. They manifest a great divergence in their national traits.

Now Mr. Lowell, overlooking entirely the marked differences among the Orientals, takes illustrations to prove the thesis of his book just as it suits him best. When he cannot find what he wants among the Japanese, then, without saying anything, he goes directly to the Celestial Empire and gets his illustrations there! As a proof of this remark, I refer to the author's statement in regard to the ancestor-worship of the Chinese. No intelligent Japanese really worships his ancestors; he simply visits and bows before their monuments, as a token of his profound respect for them. Ancestor-worship is a Chinese custom.

In the treatment of the oriental languages, Mr. Lowell confines himself to Japanese; but when he undertakes to describe the oriental family life, he selects the Chinese family as it suits him best, and not the Japanese family. Such an arbitrary way of treatment is not uncommon throughout the book.

In many places, even when Mr. Lowell's statements are correct, his inferences from those facts are hardly justifiable. For example, he infers from the fact that there are many words in Japanese which are of Chinese origin, that the Japanese people are imitative, and he thinks this to be one of the proofs of the impersonality of the Japanese. The importation of many Chinese words into Japanese was a necessary result of the higher civilization brought into Japan many centuries ago from China.

Their presence is exactly parallel to that of Latin and Greek words in the English language. More than this is true. There is nothing which the Japanese have taken from China without improving it greatly. For example, the Confucian philosophy was greatly modified and improved in Japan. Buddhism also went through a similar change in Japan after it came from Corea.

In one place Mr. Lowell speaks of the politeness of the people as an indication of their impersonality (p. 89). To my mind it carries just the opposite signification; as politeness is simply the esteem of the personality of another above one's own. I hope the people of the Far-East will never get such an idea of personality as Mr. Lowell seems to imply in this conception of it. The old Japanese way of politeness is certainly far more desirable for the peace and order of a community than that.

There are many other statements in the book which call out our challenge, but I have already said enough of its superficial observation, and the wrong inferences which it makes from insufficient data. However, there is one thing which I must not omit in this connection, as it is the defect of the entire book. The author has no adequate appreciation of the most prominent trait of the Japanese people. This trait is nothing else than the profound sense of honor which animates the entire people of Japan. Without a hearty sympathy with and a thorough appreciation of this characteristic of the people, no one can satisfactorily write anything of the Japanese. Even many habits and customs, which seem absurd to strangers at the first sight, when the national trait is well understood, become not only exceedingly interesting to those who have a deep ethical sense, but almost fascinating.

It is this profound sense of honor to one's self, and to one's family, and to one's country, that has made Japan what she is to-day. This chivalrous spirit has always been maintained, and is still maintained by all with zealous care. The chief object of education has always been to intensify and develop this sense of honor, and every action is tested and judged by it. Therefore the first question that presents itself to every true Japanese in deciding whether he ought to follow a certain

course of action is: Is this worthy of me and the family to which I belong? Is it honorable for me to do that? Does it bring honor to my parents and relatives?

Now such is the most powerful force in the Japanese social life, and no one, who lacks a full sympathy with this, can fully understand the real secret of the Japanese people, or is in a position to criticize them. Hence it is the great defect of Mr. Lowell's book, that he nowhere recognizes this most essential factor of the Japanese social life. It should be observed also, that this is preëminently the characteristic trait of the Japanese, as distinguished from what is true of the whole of the rest of the Far-East. Whosoever pretends to deal with the psychology of the Japanese ought not to overlook this fact even for a moment. And I am sure that this feeling of a sense of honor is not an entirely *impersonal* matter!

In conclusion, I would like to know how Mr. Lowell can adjust his thesis to the cardinal principles of the Confucian ethics? Does not the conception of duty, so clearly taught by the great sage of the Far-East, imply some idea of personality? For there is no conception of duty without some conception of personality, a person to whom a thing is due, and also a person from whom it is due. What does, e. g. obedience—a characteristic virtue of the Far-Orientals—signify, if man has no clear conception and conviction of the personality of one by whom obedience is commanded, and also of him from whom it is demanded? How can the Confucian *silver rule*—"What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others," be interpreted without a clear conception of personality? I would therefore recommend Mr. Lowell to lay aside his philosophy of Evolution for a while, and to undertake anew a more impartial and thorough examination of the oriental life, and more especially a careful study of the oriental philosophy and ethics. If he does, I am sure he will quickly come to the conclusion, that the Extreme Orient is not quite so impersonal as he thinks.

RIKIZO NAKASHIMA.

**ARTICLE III.—AN OMITTED CHAPTER OF "ROBERT
ELSMERE."**

It may be inferred that Mrs. Ward thought it best not to give this fragment to the public. What may be the reasons for its late appearance should properly be left as a question to whet the instinct of conjecture. Nor can I consent to gratify the morbid curiosity of people who go off wondering how this chapter came to light in a publisher's office. Some may see fit to comment upon the propriety of committing to the critical public that which seems to have been designedly omitted in the authorized text; but if any such there be, let them reflect, that if the author of "Robert Elsmere" is not excessively grateful for this supplement to a plain hiatus in her novel it must obviously be for the reason that the hiatus itself is preferable in her mind to the natural sequences of her logic as they herein appear. Having been made certain from an examination of various "internal evidences" that some such chapter must be in existence I have naturally been pleased to verify the suspicion by actually finding the manuscript. I submit the question to a fair-minded public if my failure to reveal how and where this was done should in the least prejudice the cordiality of its reception. This, I fancy, will not occur with those keen scented critics who like myself have noticed the omission.

However that may befall, I herewith submit the document.

WHITTEKER WHIMSEY.

CHAPTER XXV. (Original draft.)

"And he did face it through.

The next three months were the bitterest in Elsmere's experience. They were marked by anguished mental struggle, by a consciousness of painful separation from the soul nearest to his own, and by a constantly increasing sense of oppression, of closing avenues and narrowing alternatives, which for weeks together seemed to hold his mind in a grip whence there was no escape.

That struggle was not hurried and embittered by the bodily presence of the squire. Mr. Wendover went off to Italy a few days after the conversation we have described." In the interim Elsmere had one of those reactionary experiences which seemed likely for the time to upset the influences to which he had been yielding. The squire being absent, there remained to Elsmere some possibilities of intellectual independence, of which he had not been as yet totally bereft by the acrid strength of this incarnate intellect which inhabited the great library at the Hall. Elsmere had been scarcely aware himself, how far the process of subjugation had proceeded. Conscientious as he had ever been with his own mind, it is scarcely to be doubted that he believed himself to be following the purely independent convictions wrought by his historical studies. The squire, indeed, had furnished the clue, and the great library had opened up the material of the research, but Elsmere would have resented as a slur upon his mental rectitude the imputation of any decisive tyranny of the squire's stronger personality over his own. He revered the marvellous scholarship, but supposed himself merely to be using it as an aid to his own intellectual emancipation.

During these three miserable months it cannot be said—poor Elsmere—that he attempted any systematic study of Christian evidence. His mind was too much torn for the most part with the sharp edge of the squire's intellectual contempt for Christian polemics. It thus happened that he would have made no more decisive struggles against the liberalizing influences, if the fates had not thrust the occasion upon him quite against his mood. The squire's half ghoulish certainty that he had been for some time undermined, and was only waiting to find it out, seemed to have considerable warrant. Now—the squire would have said—he was finding it out.

But Elsmere was not destined after all to go quite over to new positions without facing the whole question. Thus far the process had been the comparatively simple one of overbearing his traditional training. Elsmere had a large confidence in his historical instinct, and testimony settled with him, as he supposed, a large range of questions. Against testimony, naturally enough, Catharine's intuitions and ingrained tradi-

tions, however much they enhanced his moral struggle, could not much affect his logic. His Oxford training had introduced him into the scientific method, and when its application seemed to bring a clear product, his faith in the product was a kind of geometric multiple of his confidence in the process. Certainly Catharine's faith was non-reasonable. She herself had never put it to a single historic test. Had she been able to do so, she would have declined. Elsmere believed that to be a legitimate position for her, but certainly not for himself. He respected even an unreasonable faith, but he believed himself as absolutely incompetent to retain such a religion as Catharine to relinquish it.

The only other living antagonist of Elsmere's new speculations was Newcome—if he could be said to count. In such circumstances Elsmere might have shifted his foundations without much minute examination of the old ones, if he had been left to himself. Had this occurred, doubtless he would scarcely have suspected the squire's assumption and Langham's languid affirmation concerning the value of testimony: "The whole of orthodox Christianity is in it." But probably it was better that Elsmere should go "with his eyes open," and it must be confessed that he had not yet seen the full import of his idolized "method." His reconstruction of the past had been mostly under the guidance of the squire, before whose pitiless learning he had seen the myth-making centuries dissected and put together again so dispassionately that he supposed he actually had finished that question. "These are fairy tales because we know just how they are made," the squire had seemed to say. Actually he never did say it. He only made Elsmere say it. If the young disciple said it at the end of the squire's reasoning rather than of his own, Elsmere believed that the reasoning and the material for it was final research. In the face of its outcome he stood, slowly swaying to the bitter certainty that Murewell was at an end. Here was the inexorable truth, and to the truth he must sacrifice himself.

And Catharine? The tenants?

Was history then that pitiless evictor? Yes, history and his conscience! "Miracles do not happen." Testimony has said it.

He was thus at the end of rending conflicts so far as the mind was concerned. "Much of the actual struggle he was able to keep from Catharine's view, as he had vowed to himself to keep it. For, after the squire's departure, Mrs. Darcy too went joyously up to London to flutter awhile through the golden alleys of Mayfair, and Elsmere was left once more in undisturbed possession of the Murewell library. There, for awhile, every day—oh, pitiful relief—he could hide himself from the eyes he loved."

He was startled in the midst of this crumbling of his traditions by a flying visit from Langham. He would almost have preferred to see anybody else, or rather to see Langham at any other time. His friend had been seized with a sudden desire to see Murewell again—he knew Rose was not there—and curiously enough had started at once for the train. He was surprised at his own decision, but as the train started before he had been an instant in the coach, he was saved the necessity of balancing and debating the issue.

"And as I am, as usual doing nothing with considerable assiduity, you'll allow me to impart my chill to you Elsmere. It's good for these overheated people to get a cool breath occasionally."

Elsmere who had met Langham in the lane civilly led the way to the rectory. Langham was more voluble than usual and talked all the way. Elsmere watched Catharine as they met. He saw by the sudden compression of her lips that she was displeased. Did she suspect that it was his doing? That was probably the case. "He had sent for Langham,—to help him in a great mental and spiritual emergency,"—Elsmere read this much in her manner and hastened to enlighten her at the first opportunity. Catharine was partially relieved,—only partially. Langham was here all the same,—he did not say for how long. He was grayer and paler than when they had last seen him. But on the whole he seemed more lively and actually took some apparent interest in the general conversation. Elsmere laid it to London, and smilingly declared that Langham would yet become a man of action if he continued to haunt the metropolis.

In the afternoon at Langham's request the two men went to the library. Elsmere had no intention of taking Langham into his confidence, but his remembrance of his friend's tenacious and comprehensive scholarship made him feel a desire to sound Langham abstractly on some of the main questions. He remembered that it was Langham who had suggested this problem of testimony.

"I have been diving into the matter some," said the rector, carelessly, as far as he could control his feelings. "There is a deal more to it than one could have prophesied. But such reconstruction of dead centuries is extremely fascinating."

Langham was poring over the title page of a Syriac manuscript and paused long enough to ask: "How do you progress with the Gallic origins? Is it building?"

"Nothing in it yet. Only a boiling mass of stuff. A lifetime I fancy will be short enough for that."

Both men were silent a little. Elsmere supposed that his question had not struck fire but in a few minutes Langham put down his manuscript and said coolly: "There's no accounting for predilections. I, now, for instance, could hardly believe it credible that a sane man should attempt to settle a religious question by testimony. I have revised that opinion I gave you. Or rather I have finished it. It is easier to rule out testimony than to hunt it to its hole. As a matter of fact it has too many holes. It never does get hunted to death. It is better to have an unassailable *a priori* negative."

Elsmere was astounded.

"Why, you discredit the method of rational science utterly," he replied. "You would have us go back to the scholastic metaphysics."

"Be obliged to, I fancy—or at least to a substratum of common sense. What amount of scientific testimony, for instance, would suffice to convince the owner of this library that Jesus of Nazareth was raised from the dead!" Langham drawled, and was really as calm as ever. He seemed unconscious that he had pricked a bubble.

"Do you mean," said Elsmere, hotly, "that a man of his keenness would yield first to *a priori* antipathies?"

Langham looked at him languidly and said without the least trace of passion :

" Oh, for that matter, you adorers of the scientific method mustn't imagine yourselves to be freed from fundamental negatives. I, now, could quite easily believe that miracle has occurred if I did not know *a priori* that miracles cannot occur. About the squire—I hope he has not made you believe that he is indifferent about the main issue."

" The main issue !"

" Yes. Is there any testimony that miracles—say any miracle—never did occur,— . . . That would be waiting to prove a negative you say ? But that is the very point of this testimony. It isn't a question on which side is common sense but on which side is testimony. It strikes me that if it is a question of the value of testimony we must say that all testimony has some value. Sticking to that mode, we must offset testimony with witnesses. As regards miracles, the case is made out. If testimony can prove anything, they occurred. Probably the squire thinks so. He simply does at the end what I do at the beginning—he invalidates the testimony with a well settled capacity of disbelief."

" And crucifies the only method of exact ratiocination we know,"— interjected Elsmere, flaming. " Why, on such a method the axioms of Euclid would be at the mercy of every fanatic who was incapable of believing—"

" That two and two make four ? Yes, if anybody could realize the impossibility of an axiom it would have to go, I fancy. We call it an axiom because nobody can doubt it. We reject testimony about miracles because they contravene the axioms."

Langham looked a trifle interested. He had unconsciously absorbed some of Elsmere's fever. He said no more, however, and both men fell again to looking over the bindings.

When he had gone and Elsmere was once more alone his mental struggle began to take a new form. Langham's words had opened a new mine under his feet. Was his very method of ratiocination in danger then ? After all there might be narrower limits to induction than he had supposed. What in very fact had set him upon this inquiry after testimony ? Was it at bottom a historic instinct, or was it the dogmatic skepti-

cism of the squire? And here lay the whole question of the value of his results. After he had inspected the modes of myth-making had he found anything but a more acceptable account of the way in which they may have grown? If he could have singled out some of the alleged supernatural occurrences and could have been able to retain them as true, discriminating between the real and the false in the histories, that would instantly have proved to his consciousness that he had proceeded strictly in view of the testimony. "But possibly Langham is right," he said, with a groan. "It has not been after all so much an examination of the value of these records, as it has been the construction of an *a priori* generalization that might justify the rejection of the entire mass. And I have called that *science*."

Elsmere, let it be confessed, repeated his inward groaning of humiliation more than once in the days that followed. This ghost was really the hardest to lay of them all. To have doubt arise in his inmost intuitions of the value of the very method by which he had permitted his faith to be upset, was bitter and humiliating.

"I see very clearly," he wrote to Langham a few days later, "that there is practically no end to this historic mode. If I cannot leap over any details I must perforce give the ground over to each separate miracle until I can show its falsity." "As it is a question solely whether miracles do happen or have happened, no miracle can be ruled out except on the merits of the case. Even induction must not assume the thing to be proved. Unless there is assumption somewhere a miracle can always creep in."

And on reading the sentence over Elsmere saw that it was identical with Langham's assertion that as a matter of fact testimony "has too many holes." It only remained at last for the tormented soul to confess that the squire's philosophy had conquered in quite a different fashion from anything he had looked for.

"Well, then, let it be so," he cried with bitterness of spirit. "Langham is right. Miracles violate experience. They do not occur because they *cannot*. Let my history stand as the filling in of that proposition."

Having come to this point Elsmere felt some relief. He had not discarded his history, he had simply placed it in a new relation. To be sure he might not discredit the testimony of the second century at this remote day by a purely inductive process, but he had gone far enough to show—so he believed—that the antecedent incredibility of miracle is not overcome by testimony given in an age when a predisposition towards supernaturalism was so widely prevalent. He was in the squire's library when this reflection was finally concluded. He had found a monograph on the Alexandrian collection and was absently studying the title page. He noticed curiously that it was partly a speculation and partly a study upon the probable contents of that vast aggregation of books destroyed by the "immortal wantonness" of Julius Cæsar.

"The entire inductive philosophy was probably devoured in these flames. It is almost certain that Alexandria had anticipated not only Des Cartes and Bacon, but the practical application of the modern scientific method to historical criticism and to natural philosophy."

Elsmere stared at the book as if it had smitten him in the face. And this was the age of which he had been saying that its testimony was childish. Could this possibly be true. He looked at the name of the author on the title page of the little book.

"No mean authority," he admitted with some alacrity. "And if he knows his ground, then what of Jerusalem and Antioch? The very habit of collecting such great libraries—especially of writing them off by hand,—did it not tend to accuracy? But pshaw! It is too late! What avails testimony to the impossible. Nature is under law. God fixed that law, and it is blasphemy to say that He breaks with Himself."

Indeed, it now seemed to Elsmere that he had passed a point to which he would not—could not return. Henceforth it was to be Langham's position on that subject and not the squire's. He even came to believe that the squire himself had overthrown the testimony in obedience to a mental necessity.

"It is futile to struggle against the certainty of things. It is doubtful if one would receive the witness of that remote day even to something rationally conceivable. To propose it as a

basis for believing in miracles—well, we are all Langhams truly—we burrow under the bottom and say outright 'what *cannot* be *isn't*, testimony or no testimony.' "

Elsmere had learned to put things simply by preaching to his tenants, and this probably was the plain statement of his issue. To arrive thus abruptly and at such a point did not seem to Elsmere unnatural when he thought it over by himself. He sincerely believed that he had set to himself the task of finding the exact truth, and he saw how very near the reasoning of Mr. Wendover lay in its psychological aspect, to the skepticism of Langham. And after all the result in practice would be precisely the same. To abandon old ground from the prior mental necessity, after all was not far different, from the same abandonment, at the end of however much historical conviction. Indeed, he saw that whatever difference there was lay in the added imperiousness of the intuition. He must renounce his ecclesiastical connections, at the command of a new certainty. He did not as yet see how much more his conclusion involved.

In this state of mind the providences which seemed to be struggling with poor Elsmere's life threw upon him a new acquaintance. A certain Mr. Oxenbode, whom he had known casually at Oxford, by some inevitable circulation of Elsmere's growing reputation, had been set upon an inquiry as to the details of his success, by some necessities of a paper which he was preparing for a daily journal. In order to study up the case with requisite thoroughness Mr. Oxenbode decided to visit Murewell.

Elsmere faintly remembered him at first, until it occurred to him that Oxenbode had written a book, of which the reviews had spoken highly. It was the dreg of bitterness to Elsmere to reflect that this inquiry into his work should be begun at such a time. Mr. Oxenbode was a curious insinuating creature, and Elsmere liked him. He saw that his visitor possessed a keen sense of mental proportions, and saw readily the strong points of his case. But he was so haunted by the feeling of his own insincerity in permitting Mr. Oxenbode to go on with his investigation under the circumstances that he at last resolved to give him the necessary hint of the possibilities. He

was happily assisted by the circumstances—that is, by Mr. Oxenbode himself, who was a free talker almost to the point of volubility.

They were remarking on the modifying effect of religion upon the administration of criminal law,—how the conversation reached that point Elsmere did not afterward remember. Mr. Oxenbode suggested that witchcraft persecutions, and superstitions of that kind, would hardly bear the light of our modernized thought.

"And Christianity itself," said Elsmere, "will eventually stand upon its pure value as a religion. It will make a way for itself as a great spiritual fact, on its own merits as such. And the sooner the better."

Mr. Oxenbode evidently did not suspect the existence of that which lay seething under all this. They stood on the little bridge, and the brook babbled along under their eyes, idly in the sunshine.

"Not only that," said Mr. Oxenbode, a little absently, "but this great spiritual fact will sufficiently avouch its own traditions and carry them along. I am with you, Mr. Elsmere, in your sturdy maintenance of historic Christianity. Certainly here is a religion large enough to count for something in support of a history which does not accord with the types of modern experience."

Elsmere inwardly winced and almost resolved to retreat. He saw that he now occupied a false position. No man more completely than he had committed himself to "the traditions." Plainly he must break off. To follow the life which implied the things he had formerly preached was impossible. Oxenbode's compliment to his fidelity scored him sharply. But he kept his outward serenity and, after thinking a little, he ventured a cautious reply: "Yet, Christianity requires us to suppose one order of experience for our age, and quite another for the past. What would, perhaps, be the result, if we could apply the Baconian method to the first century?"

"Oh, as for that," answered Mr. Oxenbode, "we can't safely apply it anywhere, alone,—that is, meaning the process of induction. You haven't read my book?"

Elsmere expressed his regrets and added, that this pleasure was still in store.

"It treats just this question. I think, I see clearly that our skepticism of the Christian history mostly has grown out of this modern adoration of mathematics. Oh, mathematics, of course, in their place—but when you get a whole age of pure lexolatry, it rules out miracles—and God, too, if they only knew it."

Elsmere smiled at his new friend's vehemence, but said a little sadly: "Well, the introduction of a little orderly method does play havoc with many of our cherished dreams. No—religion is no dream. No method can disturb that.—"

"I don't see it—pardon me for interrupting. Religion isn't left unless it has an object. If it has an object there may be a history. If the object be God, then, of course—miracles—redemption—all. Perhaps, I gallop a little fast—but it is all rational to me, Mr. Elsmere—and to you, too, no doubt. Still I find that the clergy have not resisted this craze for classifying. Yes, sir, that is the bottom of it. It is a reliance on endless and illimitable definition. That is the origin of your so-called laws. At the end of it religion is reduced to a solemn fear of the silence, or an adoration of mere ghosts. My friend, Mr. Harrison, did not miss the mark so far when he used his wit on it, and called it the worship of "x nth power." As a matter of fact, Mr. Spencer has not shown that religion carries anything with it—like your work here in Murewell say—unless it becomes much more than the recognition of "an unknowable energy whence all things proceed."

Oxenbode stopped abruptly with a little laugh.

"But all this is lost on you, of course," he said lightly.

"By no means. I am a skeptic myself in my way," said Elsmere seriously. "And as to the critical method—we must, to be sure, rely on it. I do not profess to abhor mathematics."

"Not abhor—of course not, for adding and subtracting figures. But we see easily in our day that the little creatures who are undoing our miracles so off-hand and arrogantly, get their warrant from what we call induction. The particular induction they name 'Uniformity of Nature.' The causal proposition Argyle took as the title of his book—*Reign of Law*.—Now, law is a fixed order. Your theist says, 'To break a fixed

order is inconsistent. But God is consistent—hence miracles are atheistic.' Your agnostic says, 'This fixed order is infrangible, by the nature of law, hence miracles are absurd.' Your atheist says, 'This fixed order is the only sovereign, and there is no one to break it.' And the logic stands unimpeachable in every case."

Elsmere had followed the snatches diligently. They were only his own conclusions put tersely and somewhat boldly.

"But as you hold the miracles, I fancy, you have faced the logic—and found the keyhole" he said, now anxious to hear the best that Oxenbode could do. It was a strange feeling to him, to find himself supporting the other side.

"No, I can't face that logic, neither can you. It remains, and the mistake of the clergy will be seen sooner or later in attempting to shatter it. You can't give up the whole rationale of your case in the first premise and expect to save any essential remnants in your conclusion. I don't, for one. The skeptic must not take it for granted with me, that fatalism is a competent philosophy. You probably wish to discriminate between the reign of law and the doctrine of necessity. As to the point at issue you can't do it profitably."

"Oh, if you mean to attack the fact implied in that phrase—reign of law—well, you have a tolerably large contract. A hundred years of observation have settled that."

"Not quite, Mr. Elsmere. The larger half is left out."

"Show me how," said Elsmere. He was ready to drop the argument, because he saw, that he was at the end of common ground. A man who was about to deny the plain order of nature naturally could have no case.

"The larger half," said Mr. Oxenbode, "is the absolute freedom of God—and science has been stone-blind not to see it."

"But that is not a thing to be seen, is it?" said Elsmere. "We may declare it, as a pure anthropomorphism, but is there any ordered proof of it?"

"Of that and nothing else. And this world is the testimony. Speaking of anthropomorphism—where do you suppose we got our conception of law?"

"From nature, of course," promptly answered the rector. He was scarcely interested, but willing to hear the matter through.

"Would you say that law in the first instance is from a law-giver, and so implies one? Yes! Well, then either that is because a lawgiver is necessary to the very idea of law, or because we practiced anthropomorphism—we carried our own sense of authority over into the sources of nature's regularities."

"Very possible. Theism might well be enforced that way," assented Elsmere.

"It is more than enforced, I should suppose. It is necessitated. Why is it not quite as legitimate, pray, to carry over our sense of freedom—and especially if we see its marks in the universe?"

Elsmere did not believe there were any such marks, but he struck out keenly at the conception—a crazy one, though he thought it to be.

"And our caprice—you will tell us next that—that there is no stability."

"No one would believe me if I did—simply because there is after all and in spite of fine philosophies a kind of universal reliance upon what we term our anthropomorphic inferences. We always have trusted them, probably always shall. It is not true that man is mostly capricious. The history of the world would on that supposition be untraceable. Your so-called critical method shows steady purpose, individually, ethnically.—It is this mathematical sense in us that reduces the universe to an intelligible system, and infers consistency in the Creator. But, if we know anything, we know that we are consistent only on lines of free choice—and within an infinite range of variation. What do you do with residues? What is the explanation of variation?"

"Oh, I suppose no one professes that we know everything. Classification has only begun."

"Has gone far enough to show absolutely that there must be a law for every fact, because there is an unclassified residue in every instance. What does this prove? This:—That there is no actual reign of law—but only two modes of action, one regular and the other original—one after a type and one ever modifying the type. This is the principle of progress, the complement of growth. In man it is the mark of freedom. What is it, pray, in God?"

Oxenbode stopped, his cheeks blazing. He was inspirited with his argument, and supposed that he had a sympathetic listener. But Elsmere had been all his life too completely saturated with inductive methods to be moved from his base by an assault so novel. To him the world was a perfect scheme of mathematics, which, if we only knew enough, might be laid out in order, and defined in terms. His former admission into it of historic miracles, he now regarded as an irrational concession to religious feeling, which in his new enlightenment he saw or believed had not been necessary. Mr. Oxenbode, taking his silence for an invitation, rushed on with his argument.

"The truth is, that our word 'law,' as used modernly is wrested. But let that go. I do not look upon the miracles of the Bible as something that can scarcely be saved. On the contrary, they are dispensations to be expected. If they did not occur, they ought to have occurred—that is, if there is freedom behind them. Given a personal God, then there is a supernatural cause. We know it, because we know personal causation in consciousness. We break in on nature's order perpetually—if there is any 'order.' The antecedent expectation will be to witness inbreakings and deviations, not because we love marvels, but because that is experience. Our experience is not mostly of law, but of the so-called breaking of law.—Science hasn't seen that?—*Well*, all the worse for science. I tell you, Mr. Elsmere, our blind adherence to a method has shut our eyes to what the Greeks saw, and the Jews—the immanent freedom of God in his own world.—But given this, and you have shifted the onus of credibility. Miracles then will occur when they are needed, and we shall believe them when the testimony and circumstances establish them."

"Perhaps," said Elsmere dryly, "you could furnish a formula more entertaining—more comprehensive than Argyle's." He feared that he had spoken contemptuously, but Oxenbode did not apparently so receive the remark.

"Precisely," he said warmly, "I have done it already in my book. Instead of 'reign of law' I propose a new clue to science to wit 'the reign of a Personal God.'"

"Some of us identify the two," said Elsmere.

"Yes. Logically, that sacrifices miracles and undeifies the God. As I said—it leaves out the important half. *If law and freedom do not unite in personality and in Deity, then philosophy and theology are both at an end.*"

W. C. STILES.

This closed the interview and neither of them ever recurred to the subject. As for Elsmere, he was too far engulfed in his beloved scientific method to get much light from Oxenbode's positions, and went home with his purposes unchanged. He did not even think it worth while to face these questions seriously, so utterly convinced had he become of the strength of his earlier positions. He walked home, counting up the engagements of the next two weeks—the school treat—two club field days—a sermon in the country town—the probable opening of the new Workman's Institute, and so on. Oh! to be through them all, and away, away, amid Alpine scents and silences. . ."

NOTE.—The manuscript at this point breaks off, evidently under the resolution to substitute for the chapter, as thus written, the one which appears in the received text.

Attest :

WHITTEKER WHIMSEY, Transcriber.

A True Copy.

ARTICLE IV.—HOW COLOR-LAW AFFECTS OUR HOMES.

THE following suggestions cannot fail to be found important because they are substantially dictated by the Law of Color. From its decision no appeal is possible—its ruling is final.

There are two classes of color: warm and cold. Warm colors are the yellows, the reds, and the greens. Cold colors are the blues, white, and black. When mixed, these colors produce endless varieties of tone and shade, all of which, however, continue subject to the Law of Color. Yellow, in which a slight tinge of blue has been mixed, becomes lemon color, and is plainly cold, because of its bluish tint; in fact, all shades of color are cold in which any trace of blue is apparent. Yellow mixed with pure red becomes orange or the warmest known color. Red mixed with blue makes purple, of which some varieties rival the blues as the coldest tones possible. It is thus evident, that our warmest colors can be cooled, or our cold tones be warmed at pleasure, with the single exception of blue, which, when mixed with yellow, becomes green, or with red, changes to purple.

Color is made pleasing and grateful to the eye by two distinct methods: by contrast of warm and cold, or by either of these groups in harmony. The strongest possible effect is produced by the contrast of warm and cold tones.

But the accurate use of color requires definite knowledge, together with an experience that never comes unsought. This significant fact explains why eager enjoyment of color is comparatively rare.

A temperament responsive to color influence, but, as yet, indifferent to art knowledge, naturally prefers the tame softness of harmony effect, to the vigor, power, and spirit of legitimate contrast. Inexperience thus sheltered, and protected from absurd mistakes, moves entirely at ease within this safe enclosure. Free to pick and choose at will within these narrow limits, it is content with what it supposes to be color and a

knowledge of it. Conscious that its tiny cup of tone-experience is filled to the brim, it drains the tasteless contents with relish and with satisfaction.

Here is found the origin of tiresome and monotonous misuse of color under conditions loudly calling for its skillful employment. And hence, as a familiar instance, we are annoyed by woman's wraps and ribbons selected from tints insipidly similar, or with the dull expanse of house outer-walls, cornices, doors, blinds, etc., all painted from the same pot.

There is, however, consolation in the knowledge that this kind of mistake declares, and may be considered to prove, an inherent feeling for color, ill-advised, because, as yet, immature. And there is reason to be thankful for the cheering fact, that the art-world finds no lack of bright students, who are less easily satisfied. Their more ardent characters already burn to explore the farthest limits of the widest range. They intend to learn all that may be taught; to experience every thrill that art-nature affords. Nor do they need to be informed, that even moderate color experience could never be gratified, or be satisfied, with abuse of one unhappy tone. Just as no one would undertake to regale a fastidious and accomplished palate with the contents of a single dish.

Nor can the well-schooled eye be easily humbugged. Much of the inner-self of a writer may be read between the lines of his book, so, every individual use of color exposes the art-condition of the user. A glance suffices.

The faithful student may console himself with remembrance that color, once put in place, allows neither indecision nor self-opinioned obstinacy. Tints, adopted without approval of Color-Law, or applied contrary to its advice, proclaim the fact as far as eye can reach. Monochromic or combined, they advertise both the omission and the ignorance.

Now for some practical hints.

Houses must be painted on the outside, and decorations settled upon for interiors—side-walls and ceilings must be tinted—wall and floor rugs chosen—woman's apparel must be made ready for all occasions. For obvious reasons, this last item ought to make a careful color student of every living creature of the gentle sex. Furthermore, woman must have

not only approbation and permission, but direct aid from Color-Law, if she wishes to appear to the best advantage.

Who does not recognize the fascinating room-charm belonging to the grateful atmosphere of some favored homes—the cordiality of welcome, plainly felt and positive if tongueless? Even the happy furniture—given to hospitality—stands more than ready to greet the incomer. On entering, the very breath of the house comes to meet us at the threshold, with a friendly reception, that is not less unmistakably hearty because silent, and is scarcely less real, from being intangible. Here the lights burn brighter and look more cheerful—pictures seem painted for the places where they hang—the restful easy-chairs, as if anxious for the visitors convenience, offer themselves pointedly—luxurious comfort abounds.

Guests are few who are not responsive in the presence of such enviable household treasures—the value of whose attraction is not to be reckoned in weight of gold.

Can womankind imagine home environment more becoming than the one here enjoyed by the hostess?

With congenial *entourage*, she breathes an atmosphere ever keenly desirable. She would be the last person to think or to say that matters such as these are trifles. And especially, the successful woman will never so speak, for she knows better. She has discovered the real importance of tasteful matters that minor experience may ignore.

With knowledge of color, but positively not without it, these ideal surroundings are attainable. And yet the coin appraisement of such priceless possessions is but a fraction of the monster outlay that flounders offensively in another tasteless home. There, non-acquaintance with Color-Law has failed to supply anything more enjoyable than multi-colored stiffness, and managed to furnish a costly, marrow-chilling drawing-room with nothing so conspicuous or so abundant as measureless starch.

But when Color-Law enters the unfurnished room, it suggests that the widest choice is allowable as to what shall be done with the naked walls, ceiling, and floor. Any preferred tint or tone may be selected, light or dark, cheerful or severe, and the appointments may be rich and elegant or simple and inexpensive. These effects are all desirable. If, however,

there is placed in the room so much as a chair, which is intended to remain, it becomes a note of the color-chord for that room. Gay or sober, for whatever follows, the key is there and then decided.

Color-Law again asks if the walls are to be colored warm or cold? It explains the importance of the tints decided upon, by showing that their tone not only determines the final effect, but governs the arrangement of every detail. We may suppose a case where the color of side-walls is to be warm. Therefore, a cold tinted ceiling is needed for enjoyable contrast. Whatever tint is chosen may go shading on through countless gradations of cold grays, up to almost pure white. This tint forms part of the complete color scheme, which includes wall, furniture, and footing, that, by itself, almost perfects the intention. And with background like this, distinct pictorial finish may be confidently looked for, because it follows naturally. It may also be honestly enjoyed.

A side-wall, that is intended to be itself a decoration, may be ornamented at will. And it may be convenient to bear in mind the interesting fact, that, in the case of individual colors, reds have the perspective expression of advancing, as it is called; blues, greens, and grays, of receding; while yellows, wherever placed, may be relied upon to hold fast their own.

Tints of pink or of blue, so dilute and delicate as to be barely perceptible, when looked at separately, become comparatively brilliant when exhibited side by side. Under the same circumstances, stronger shades of these colors, entirely satisfactory when alone, act and react on each other with so much earnestness as to grow intense and even garish.

This fact illustrates the painters' axiom that "color is what it is, where it is."

Another wall, whose rôle is to afford brilliant relief by its own obscurity, and to play the part of faithful companion to some object in especial favor, as a statue, a bronze, or any variety of art ornament, should wear a subordinate tone, flat, and gray with the preferred tint. Grays appear to be largely misunderstood. They may consist of, and be tinted with, every color on the palette, and do not specially nor even generally refer to any variety of lead color.

When placed among tones both lighter and weaker, all bands of positive, bold color are to be particularly avoided. Besides being a deliberate defiance of Color-Law and of the values, as well as an offense to art, their presence ruins the integrity of every tone-combination where they intrude; their hardness isolates them from adjoining color as completely as if solid moulding filled the spaces they occupy; in studio talk, they "tear" anything they touch.

When matters of refined importance, such as these, are entrusted to the limited capacity of routine craftsmen, the dismal result, to be surely counted upon, seldom fails to appear. By their work, they are certainly known! Facts remain relentless in color-use as in morals. Sin is followed by retribution. The law-breaker must pay the penalty.

Repetition of ceiling tints on side-walls is forbidden. One reason is loss of dignity. A large, unbroken surface of some pleasing tint—not white—lends an effect that is impressive and restful. This same surface, like a picture, appears to better advantage in a frame. Hence the ceiling-border, the cornice, and the frieze.

It is not difficult to understand that a tone-contention of side-walls with ceiling must weaken, by diffusion, the individual power of color over-head. Reproduction of this special ceiling-tint on the wall space of any room is sure to impair its original stateliness and distinction.

It is also desirable to remember that the result, as a whole, is more pleasing, and that the proportions of any room appear to better advantage, when the ceiling is lighter in tone than the adjoining wall, with the aim in view to reproduce, indoors, an indirect effect of sky in real landscape. Deep, strong colors suggest heaviness with solidity, and the converse is also true. For this reason, and because our ceilings can hardly rise too high, they may be made to appear to float above our heads, as far away as may be, by the use of colors that are light and atmospheric with blue and with gray. Skilfully chosen values in reds and yellows may intensify this eye-charm, without injury to the vaporous illusions.

The primal importance of preserving the values in every combination of color is once more insisted on. By the technical

term "values preserved," the painter means to assert that colors light or dark in tone must be harmonized or contrasted with colors correspondingly light or dark. And the values must continue to be preserved, on the scale ascending or descending, as far as the eye can distinguish varying shades.

Sometimes it is desired to soften a given tone without disturbing its value or changing its note on the scale. In such case the effect is obtained by introducing the contrasting tone in quantity sufficient to neutralize to the point desired any color disposed to be obstinate or intrusive. As for instance, under certain circumstances, adjoining values call for—we may say—some plain blue, cold and low in tone. After this blue has been laid in precisely as wanted, it is found from tone-reaction to be too energetic; its proportions become excessive; its voice also is too loud and must be repressed. To temper it with white, would carry it up too high on the scale and destroy its "value;" to use black, would take it too low, with the same result at the other end of the scale. Experience, however, manages to obtain the desired effect by judicious introduction of the contrasting yellow.

It is well known that yellow can be added to blue until this cold tone takes on a greenish hue, and when the mixture is carried far enough, it becomes a positive, warm green. But in the example here made use of, such mixture is not wanted. Green is not the tone desired, but a subdued and softened blue. Therefore, instead of directly composing green by incorporation of yellow, the requisite amount of warmth and temper is supplied in spots or dots. These small magicians are introduced with prudence—nicely calculated to lose themselves in the local tone while producing the needed effect. Great care is taken to keep them in such complete subjection, that, while doing their whole duty and speaking as desired, they may only say precisely what is wanted.

Those sufficiently interested in the subject are invited to compare, side by side, a clear blue scarf with another of the same tone, but freely dotted with yellow.

It is thus made clear, how an over-prominent color may be restrained at will by the simultaneous exhibition of its contrasting color. The importance of the fact can hardly be exag-

gerated to the color student, or to any one anxious to be exact in use of color harmony and contrast.

Not unseldom it happens to be desirable that separate objects, discordant in tone, should continue to remain near each other, and it may be, exactly where, at present, their individual colors persistently quarrel. In such case the interposition of one of the light tints, usually called white, and the consequent power of tone reaction, will be sure to reconcile contentions and change ill-temper into at least tolerable friendship.

The walls and ceiling being now provided for, next comes the floor covering. An ideal rug would have its main body plain in pattern and substantially or actually plain in color, of any preferred tint of gray that is light and warm; and around this single-toned center a border, rich and wide, will lap onto some cold tone (filler) extending quite to the warm side-wall. This massing of uniform color with no interruption of mechanical design—certainly, not of one resembling or recalling the checkerboard—is an important factor in pictorial decoration. The same may be said of the interposition of cold “filler,” to separate and thus to accentuate the warmths of wall and of rug. Such arrangement compels a well-defined and lively tone reaction of each on the other, and, by supplying the contrast needed for play of color according to law, heightens the effect of both. No room ornamentation can be entirely satisfactory or wholly effective, in which this color antiphony is wanting. Color-Law so decides, and those who know it best, and who enjoy the broadest experience, are most thoroughly convinced that the law of gravitation is not more inflexible, nor less patient of discussion.

But, already, the room begins to respond to our wishes. In a measure, we find the matchless home-look so earnestly sought! Every added detail promises future gratification and gives present reward for our efforts. Even now, an *ensemble* invites so encouragingly, that the owner is eager to see installed in its allotted space each intended belonging. He is in haste to add the very last ornament of window drapery and revel in the finishing fluffiness of unstinted white lace.

When, finally, every individual object has not only found a place, but is in it—when the room reeks with prim precision, Color-Law deftly begins to undo each collection of stereotyped, provincial common-place. There is clear fascination in the opportunity to watch and to follow the happy touches of skillful disorder, with which finished art upsets all traces of machine-made uniformity, and, as painters say, “spoils” every separate group of plumb-line and brick-wall accuracy.

It is well worth while to remark that here, near the window, a scrap of flimsy old-gold stuff serves admirably to blunt the sharp edges of various corners, whose right angles bristle with too frequent exactness. And it is interesting to study this trifling *chiffon* now metamorphosed into a matter of serious importance and endowed with art significance.

While there, on the opposite side, over the low mantel, a simple, blue-blackened oriental fan hurries out from behind the gilding of a broad frame, with no object immediately apparent; but, by the power of this single motion, it supplies an additional color-play with its grateful coolness against the side-wall warmth. Thus it pleasingly interrupts over-repetition of a neighbor's outline. This it does, not alone by virtue of properly contrasted color, but through force of opposing shape in rounded form. Picturesque spots of warm or of cold color are fixed here, and suspended there, but everywhere contrived to come between the eye and some relief-giving tone, intended to act as background.

Thus, inimitable and inexhaustable, Color-Law contrives to better everything with a seemingly simple, but really, magic hand. The result follows, of course! Familiarity with, and knowledge of, color is asserted as clearly by this room, as was inexperience and lack of judgment by the monochromic house-exterior already criticized.

Color-Law is always ready to help and is far from being unsociable, but the honor of its friendly acquaintance is not accorded to any one, unsolicited. More than that, this same honor must be as honestly earned, as where deserved it is impartially granted.

An unmistakable art vocation may exist with sympathies inclined to satisfaction from severe outlines of form, rather

than from more sensuous beauty of color. Such colder enthusiasm may not be offended by monotony of straight line or frequent repetition of right-angle, that starve and grieve the eye specially endowed for enjoyment of color.

But, these gifted temperaments are deeply penetrated with the color truths here presented. Inspired with knowledge-compelled respect for these truths they are both dead in earnest. Both insist that the last words repeat the first. They both wish it announced, published, proclaimed to all concerned, that, in matters where pigment is employed, in any form whatever, all discussion is useless and every contentious wriggle is in vain ; that, in each case where color is selected and applied it is entirely right, or must be absolutely wrong. Color-Law, alone, decides the question. Its ruling is final ; from its decision, there can be no appeal.

F. WAYLAND FELLOWES.

ARTICLE V.—PHILO, AND HIS LATEST INTERPRETER.

Philo Judaeus; or the Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion. By JAMES DRUMMOND, LL.D., Principal of Manchester New College, London. 2 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1888.

THE studies of which these volumes are the outcome originated, we are told, "in the desire to learn at first hand what Philo thought, and why he thought it" (Pref. p. iii.). A book from this source should be heartily welcomed, for it is a matter of no common interest to know what Philo thought, and why. We may briefly state the reasons for this interest before asking how far it finds satisfaction in the present work.

During the life-time of Philo, the Jew of Alexandria, Jesus of Nazareth lived and labored, and the Christian religion began its course in the world. The work of these two men, of one age and race, invites comparison. There are points of likeness between the movement initiated by Jesus, and that represented by Philo. In each, Judaism forsook its narrow limits and moved toward universality. Jesus did not in form, and Philo did not in intention, break with the traditional religion, but by both the particularism and the legalism of Jewish faith and practice were in principle abolished. Both in Christianity and in Alexandrian philosophy, Judaism opened its hand to the Greeks, and offered its treasures to the world. But Christianity did not, like Alexandrianism, set out "to make Jews Greeks, and Greeks Jews,"* to reconcile by philosophy and in books Jewish conceptions with current ideas. It rather rose to a higher plane where "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all." Alexandrianism rationalized Judaism, Christianity spiritualized it.

In another respect Philo attempted what Jesus accomplished. A mediation between God and the world, and between God and man, was felt to be needed. It was sought in Egypt by

* Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II., p. 872.

speculation and in the region of ideas, it was found in Judæa by faith and in a life. To those who had sought for such a mediator in the Logos of philosophy, the Christian message was, "the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us."

In the sense of sin and the desire for deliverance from its bondage, Philo's language often reminds us of the New Testament, and especially of Paul. But sin in his view was closely connected with the body and with ignorance, so that the renunciation of sense and the enlightenment of the mind were the ways of salvation, and its end was the vision of God in ecstasy. The trouble and the remedy were metaphysically and intellectually conceived rather than spiritually.

It is interesting, then, to know what Philo thought, because he was a Jew of the time of Christ, and because he tried to make Judaism universal, or rather to show that it was so, to find a mediator between God and man, and to escape evil and attain good by the knowledge of God.

But it is safer and more profitable to deal with actual historical relations than with ideal comparisons, and it is on the field of history that Philo is of greatest significance. He is significant as the outcome and representative of a development, and as the source of an influence.

The development of Judaism on Greek soil and amid Greek influences is a most striking spectacle. Jewish and Greek ideas have so deeply influenced western and modern thought, that their first meeting is an event of peculiar interest. Alexander's conquest had brought Greek culture into the east, while Jews of the Dispersion were living in almost all the cities of the civilized world; so that the most favorable opportunities existed for the interchange of ideas. There were, in Philo's time, a million Jews in Egypt. That was their home. Greek was their native tongue, and they were not unacquainted with Greek literature and philosophy. The early stages of the development of Judaism under these conditions are in much obscurity. Philo refers to predecessors of whom we have no further knowledge. The Septuagint, with the Apocrypha, especially the Wisdom of Solomon, the older Sibylline Oracles, the fragments remaining of Demetrius, Artapanus, Aristobulus (whom Dr. Drummond, contrary to the prevailing opinion,

considers not genuine), II., III. and IV. Maccabees,—these are the principal sources from which information about Hellenistic Judaism can be obtained. They are by no means sufficient to enable us to trace the movement in detail, and we are almost entirely dependent on Philo for a knowledge of its character.

Various answers have been given to the question, in what the distinctive peculiarity of Alexandrian Judaism consists. That it was a blending of Greek philosophy with Jewish religion is not an adequate answer, for questions remain as to the purpose and method of the blending. From which side came the impulse, and which furnished the material, which the form, of the new product?

Philo belongs to the history both of Judaism and of Greek philosophy, and his significance is differently estimated according to the path by which he is approached. Dr. Drummond traces the line of preparation on Jewish ground. In Jewish thought, as contrasted with Greek, the personality of God and his elevation above the world were emphasized. In later Judaism, with a widening mental horizon and a failing religious sense, this transcendence of God was carried so far as to threaten the very being of religion. God was removed beyond the reach of human knowledge and aspiration, and put out of all contact with the world and men. But the old faith of the Jews in the revelation of God to man and the destination of man for God survived in unreconciled contradiction to their theological thought. When they found the philosophy of the west, they looked to it to remove the contradiction. "It was, then, the problem of the Alexandrian philosophy to harmonize, in conformity with Greek method and with the assistance of Greek ideas, these two tendencies of thought, neither of which could it disown without being false to the Jewish faith. It endeavored to bring the transcendent God whose essence was incognizable by the human mind, into the requisite relations with nature and man by the mediation of certain powers" (Drummond, I. p. 135). This is one statement of the impulse and character of the movement.

Zeller, on the other hand, the historian of Greek philosophy, is at pains to show that on Greek soil the essential elements of Alexandrian philosophy were prepared, without oriental inter-

ference.* Greek thought had run out into scepticism, distrust of human thought, and despair of its ability to find the truth. If knowledge was attainable it must be by some other path than speculation. When the Greeks came into contact with the religions of the east, they were ready to receive from them the solution which philosophy had failed to give to the problem of life. The distinguishing peculiarity of the movement to which Jewish Alexandrianism belongs, lies in "the attempt through divine revelation to attain to a knowledge and blessedness which are denied to scientific thought as such" (Zeller, III. ii. 69 f.). The new movement owed its impulse, then, to Greek philosophy, and lay in the direct course of its development. "When thought despairs of finding truth in itself, it naturally seeks it outside of itself; when one has lost confidence in science, he throws himself into the arms of faith" (Zeller, 77 f. cf. 417 f.). This is a second statement of the character of the movement.

There was, in fact, preparation and continuity on both paths. "The Jewish thinkers who . . . ventured on the uncertain path of philosophical speculation, were not seduced into a course wholly alien to their habits of mind" (Drummond, I. 159). Nor were the Greeks led away into strange paths by the attraction of oriental ideas. When the two came together it was by a common impulse, each seeking help from the other. At their meeting, the Jew became speculative, and the Greek became religious. The result was a strange mixture of rationalism and supernaturalism. So that the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy can be described, on the one hand, as "an attempt to express the great religious conceptions of Moses and the Prophets in the language of the philosophical schools, and to bring into rational harmony the dogmas of a supernatural revelation and the results of speculative thought" (Drummond, I. 3); and, on the other hand, as an attempt by divine illumination to rise above sense, and even above consciousness, and attain in ecstasy the vision of God (cf. Zeller, 416); "it is the longing for divine help and revelation," says Zeller, "that forms the root of Philo's system" (p. 359). The movement is speculative in

* Die Philosophie der Griechen, III. ii. pp. 69 ff, and 242 ff. (8. Aufl. 1881.)

one aspect, and practical in another. The two elements, reason and faith, were not, however, thoroughly harmonized. There is "in the fundamental tendency of Philo's system the contradiction of demanding the closest union with a being whose conception makes the union thoroughly impossible" (Zeller, 417).

Philo's work was throughout, in form, in content, and in aim, an effort at mediation. He sought to mediate between the written revelation of Judaism and the current ideas of the time. For this impossible task allegory was the instrument, which he borrowed from the Stoics and bequeathed to the Fathers. He renounced the literal sense of scripture, and brought out of it, as the true meaning, and with all honesty, such things as he thought to be true. This determines his method.

He sought to mediate between a transcendent God and the finite world. The means chosen for this purpose were the Logos and subordinate Powers, borrowed from many sources, but mainly from Plato and the Stoics, and bequeathed to Christians, and especially to the Gnostics. This determines the matter of his philosophy.

But he was practical in his underlying purpose, and sought the mediation that religion attempts between the finite and the infinite. How can man be brought near to God? Philo answers, by the denial of sense, by contemplation, reaching its goal in ecstasy. Philo was not an ascetic, but the roots of asceticism were in him, and he left them to Christianity as his last bequest.

Philo supposed himself true to the faith of the fathers, but he was self-deceived. Dr. Drummond says that "the learning of the Greeks only supplied the mould in which his thought was cast; the material was drawn from the best traditions of Hebrew piety" (I. 359). The statement may be accepted as expressing Philo's own estimate of his work. But Schürer's account is closer to the fact. "His Judaism consists essentially in the *formal* claim that the Jewish people, on the ground of the Mosaic revelation, are in possession of the highest religious knowledge—one might almost say, of the true religious illumination. In the *material* respect, Greek views have gained the

upper hand" (p. 872). The mediation between Jewish faith and Greek speculation was impossible, and Philo, in attempting it, unconsciously sacrificed Judaism. He intended to put Jewish ideas into Greek forms, and supposed that he was doing so, but in reality he did the reverse.

These remarks may serve to suggest the character and significance of the movement of which Philo was, by no means the beginning and end, but the outcome and representative. He does not stand alone. He was not a great creative genius. Much of our interest in knowing what he thought is due to the fact that many at that time were thinking as he did, not only in Egypt, but throughout the Dispersion, and doubtless even in Palestine;* and what men were thinking when Christianity came among them, we cannot but wish to know.

But apart from his representative character and the light he throws on the inner movements of his time, it cannot be denied that Philo is a figure of considerable importance in his own right, that he made a decided impression upon the world.† He wrote for Jews and for Greeks, "to make Jews Greeks and Greeks Jews." If he was not largely successful in this effort, yet he accomplished something in both directions. Upon later Greek thought (Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic) his influence was considerable (Siegfried, pp. 275-278, Zeller, pp. 421 ff.). In part directly and in part through Neo-Platonism, he reached Rabbinic Judaism, and affected to some extent its method of interpretation and its forms of thought (Sieg. 278 ff.).‡ In general, however, as Schürer remarks (p. 883), the influence of Jewish Alexandrianism was gradually displaced, among the Jews of the Dispersion, by that of Pharisaism, and among the Greeks, by that of Christianity. Christianity, however, was itself not a little affected by Philo, so that quite his most important influence was upon those for whom he did not write and of whom he knew nothing (cf. Siegfried, 303-399). Certain points

* For evidence, see Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 1875, pp. 65-77, 125-180.

† On his influence was especially Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875, pp. 275-399, though he treats primarily only of the influence of the Philonic interpretation of Scripture.

‡ On Philo's relation to the Rabbins, see also Ritter, *Philo und die Halacha*, 1879.

of parallelism between his effort and that of Christianity have already been pointed out, and certain bequests of his to the Fathers of the church have been mentioned. It would be beyond the scope of this notice to discuss the question of Philo's relation to Christianity. To put Alexandrianism, with Gfrörer, among the original sources of Christianity would be impossible. Nor would it be just to trace exclusively, or mainly, to Philo, the three errors of the early church already alluded to, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, extravagance in speculation, and monasticism, though in all these directions his influence is undoubted. What it was, and how extensive, may be left in question, but it was certainly such and so great that it is important for us to know "what he thought and why he thought it." With this we may turn to the book that offers us this knowledge.

In Dr. Drummond, Philo has found an admiring friend as well as a careful student. The book is the result of original and prolonged research by a scholar whose competence is already well known. We find in it, first, a review of Greek philosophy, so far as it bears upon Jewish Alexandrianism and especially upon its central principle, the Logos; then, an account of the blending of Hellenism and Judaism till the time of Philo. Then follows the exposition of Philo's philosophy, discussing in order, the origin and nature of philosophy, the universe and the problems it suggests, anthropology, the existence and nature of God, the divine Powers, the Logos, and the higher anthropology. The treatment is strictly expository, and all such questions as the relation of Philo to Christianity are left untouched. If this disappoints our curiosity, it has obvious advantages in the scientific view.

Of the results of his work the writer says: "I have been led to entertain views which differ on fundamental points from those which are most current, and have arrived, rightly or wrongly, at a much higher estimate of Philo's speculative power than at one time I was tempted to form from the strange and incoherent jumble which has been ascribed to him by some eminent expositors" (Pref. iv.). It may not be amiss to summarize briefly the main points of his disagreement with current views. Some conception may thus be conveyed of the temper and conclu-

sions of the book, though not of the character of the argument. The views advanced and those refuted will be stated, as far as possible, by quotation, and without criticism.

1. Philo adopted the Platonic conception of matter, as an eternal, formless existence, the passive but necessary condition of creation, the substance out of which God fashioned the world. The dualism thus implied is never reconciled with the monotheistic faith which Philo, as a Jew, affirmed. The difficulty is increased by the apparent attribution of evil to matter, and the consequent disparagement of the bodily life. It has been commonly held that he was hopelessly inconsistent at this point, representing matter sometimes as necessary, and sometimes as harmful, now as passive, and now as limiting the divine power. Dr. Drummond defends Philo, in part, from this charge. Matter was, indeed, conceived by him as eternal, but not as actively evil. "The source of imperfection was not in the material as opposed to the spiritual, but in the phenomenal as opposed to the eternal." "Incurable disabilities" belong to all material things, not because they are made of matter, but because they are *made* (I. 310 ff; II. 297). Philo says that the body was made by God, but "he could hardly depart so widely from his general doctrine as to make God the creator of what was absolutely evil; and therefore we must be dealing, not with an intrinsically malignant matter, but with that which is relatively inferior, in the preference of which moral evil consists" (II. 300).

2. Philo has been charged with holding a materialistic conception of the human mind. "Our philosopher," says Zeller, "cannot hold himself entirely free from materialistic ideas of the nature of the soul" (III. ii. p. 396). This Dr. Drummond confidently denies. The essence of the mind is nothing less than the Divine Being, of whom it is an "impression, or fragment, or ray" (I. 328). These words would seem to justify rather than to refute Zeller's statement, but in Dr. Drummond's judgment they were meant to be taken figuratively.

3. In his doctrine of God, Philo has often been accused of vacillating between a negative and a positive description. This is due to the attempt to unite the abstract deity of philosophy with the personal God of Israel, to escape all anthropomorph-

isms, and yet affirm all perfections. "He wavers continually in his utterances concerning the deity between the negative description in which all predicates must be denied of God, and the positive in which all perfection must be ascribed to him. We cannot hope to resolve this contradiction; it is enough that we recognize it and point out its grounds" (Zeller, p. 354). Dr. Drummond acknowledges a certain verbal contradiction, but thinks that Philo was aware of it and attempted its solution (II. 23 ff.). God is, indeed, described as without qualities (*ἀπορος*), but the word is used in its logical meaning, and denotes "that which does not belong to a class, but is *sui generis*." God is beyond classification because he is alone and dependent on nothing but himself. Philo could consistently deny qualities of God and yet affirm properties, or attributes of him, such as eternity, self-existence, omnipotence, perfection, because these do not place him in a class with others. Even attributes which belong in some measure to man, such as freedom, mercy, goodness, can consistently be ascribed to a God without qualities, because man possesses these attributes only so far as he shares in the divine nature, while God contains them and is their source. God is not like man because he is just and good, but man, so far as he is just and good, participates in God's being. It would be "more correct to say that the good is divine than to say that God is good" (II. 27, 30). It is not the logical emptiness but the real fullness of God that Philo is concerned to maintain. "God, instead of being an empty abstraction, contains in his infinite fullness the eternal essence of all perfect things" (II. 34). By this peculiar (realistic) conception of the attributes, Philo saves himself, in Dr. Drummond's view, from inconsistency, and makes "the strictest speculative thought minister to religious aspiration."

4. Dr. Drummond's most important deviation from the prevailing view of Philo's interpreters relates to the divine Powers and the Logos. Philo's Powers are the mediators by which he attempts to bring God into connection with the world. As mediators they must, it would seem, share in the nature of each of the contrasted beings, though identical with neither; and they are, in fact, spoken of as divine, and yet as distinct from God, as impersonal attributes of God, and again as his

personal agents. Zeller says that the contradiction was inevitable, and that it could not, in the nature of the case, have been perceived by Philo (p. 365). Dr. Drummond's discussion of the matter is elaborate and most instructive. He maintains that the Powers are impersonal; not independent entities, but attributes of God, or, more exactly, modes of the divine activity. They are in essence ideas of God, and they appear as the forms and forces of finite things. They make up collectively the nature, or essence of God, so far as it can be impressed upon matter and comprehended by finite minds. They are not ontologically distinct from God. They "are not substitutes for God. It is he that is everywhere, and the Powers are introduced simply to explain the mode of his omnipresence" (II. 108). Their function "was not to keep God out of the world, but to bring him into it" (p. 107). They are like the plans in the mind of the architect, if these be conceived as also the forces that hold the finished structure together. Apart from God they would be nothing, and the world apart from them would be nothing. They are fitted to mediate between the universe and God, not because they waver between the two and are different from both, but because strictly separable from neither (p. 116). This view, Dr. Drummond insists, can be fairly derived from Philo's language, and is "something better than sheer nonsense." On the other hand he could not have meant "to represent God as physically outside the universe, and therefore requiring separate persons inferior to himself to act upon matter for him." Language that seems to imply this is to be understood as rhetorical personification, of which Philo was certainly fond (p. 123 ff.), or as due to the exigencies of his allegorical interpretation.

5. The Logos presents the same problem, for it is simply the sum and unity of the Powers, the most general mediator between God and the universe. According to Zeller (whom Schürer and others follow), the Logos appears in Philo, on the one hand, as a power or property of God, and on the other, as a separate being beside God. "The peculiarity of his representation consists precisely in this, that he does not notice the contradiction, that the conception of Logos vacillates uncertainly between personal and impersonal being." This peculi-

arity is mistaken if one regards the Philonic Logos as simply a person outside of God, or as only God in a definite relation. In Philo's view he is both, and on that very account neither of the two exclusively (p. 378). Dr. Drummond, however, will not admit the alternative, and thinks Zeller's solution violent and unwarrantable. The Thought of God permanently impressed upon the universe is not God under a definite relation, nor is it a person outside of God, nor is it an illogical mixture of the two conceptions (II. 223). It is, then, the thought of God that Dr. Drummond understands by the Logos; the "one Thought expressive of the Divine" (p. 160); "the expressed Thought of God, which takes up into itself all inferior ideas, and combines into one force all the forces of nature" (p. 171); "the Mind or Reason of the universe," which is not the divine essence itself, but a mode of that essence (p. 183). God is before and above the Logos, for he does not participate in Reason, but exhausts and transcends it. We depend upon it for our reason, but it depends upon God for its existence (p. 184). Man is the image of the Logos, and the Logos is the image of God (p. 187). "All other things are an expression of Thought, but Thought is an expression of God alone" (p. 189). The Logos therefore stands between God and the world, inseparable from either; the thought of God and the force that gives reality to things (p. 190 f.). "It is as though the artist's thought were not only visible in the form of the statue, but were the enduring power which held its particles together." The thought would then "mediate between the mind and the marble block, and seem to border on both the ontological and the phenomenal realms" (p. 191). "The Logos . . . is not a demiurge who acts for or instead of God, but is God's own rational energy acting upon matter" (p. 192 f.). It follows that "the separate personality of the Logos would be a purely disturbing element, and introduce a quite needless perplexity into an otherwise coherent system" (p. 223), and Philo cannot have meant to assert it. Where he seems to do so, we are to make allowance for his "florid and rhetorical style," his "fondness for personification," his "mingling of the literal and the allegorical." Passages that appear to imply the personality of the Logos are quoted and discussed in great detail. The reader has

the material fully before him even for an unfavorable judgment. Dr. Drummond admits the "looseness and uncertainty" of Philo's exposition, but maintains that the contradiction usually ascribed to him is unfounded. "From first to last," he concludes, "the Logos is the Thought of God, dwelling subjectively in the Infinite Mind, planted out and made objective in the universe. The cosmos is a tissue of rational force, which images the beauty, the power, the goodness of its primeval fountain. The reason of man is this same rational force entering into consciousness, and held by each in proportion to the truth and variety of his thoughts; and to follow it is the law of righteous living. Each form which we can differentiate as a distinct species, each rule of conduct which we can treat as an injunction of reason, is itself a Logos, one of those innumerable thoughts or laws into which the universal thought may, though self-reflection, be resolved." And finally these Words, which are also Works, of God, tell us of the BEING from whom they came (p. 273). This description may profitably be compared with such an estimate as that of Siegfried (Philo, p. 223). "The Logos of Philo appears, then, as a mixture of most various elements, and one cannot tell in a word what it is. It is the type of things, productive power of God, immanent reason of the world, Jewish archangel, high priest, sum of the divine world of emanations, simple being, multiplicity, God himself, distinct from God, attribute of God, independent being. The Logos of Philo is a thesaurus of all philosophizings on "face," "name," "word," "wisdom," "angel," etc., in the Old Testament and Palestinian Judaism, on *σοφία* in Alexandrianism, and on the *λόγος* among the Greeks." Was Philo a serious philosopher or a lawless eclectic?

The two hundred pages, or more, which Dr. Drummond devotes to the Divine Powers and the Logos, certainly deserve careful study. There will be differences of opinion as to the success of the argument. It will doubtless seem to some that the discussion has too much the tone of defense and apology. Some will think that the writer has idealized Philo's thought, and made him say what he should have said. Yet the friendly interpreter is more likely than the critic to do justice to his author, and it is safe to say that the thought of Philo has not

been hitherto so thoroughly and fairly discussed, and that it can not be learned so well from any other source.

Dr. Drummond's book is a most valuable addition to the literature of the subject, but the needs of the student of Philo are still numerous and pressing. There is need of a new edition of his works, and of critical introductions to the several books. There is need, as Schürer has recently stated, of an adequate treatment of the *Judaism* of Philo. This would be a most welcome contribution toward the solving of a more general problem, of the greatest importance, on which we have reached as yet far less clearness and security than is sometimes supposed,—the problem of the thoughts and beliefs of the Jews in the time of Christ.

F. C. PORTER.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

THE SEMITIC CLUB.

The Semitic Club of the University has about forty members. Its meetings are on the second and fourth Wednesday evenings of each month.

Wednesday evening, Jan. 23d, a paper was read by Mr. Charles H. Wissner on the first Assyrian period. The paper treated of the origin, character, and religious habits of the Assyrians. The period was separated into three divisions. (1.) The relation between Assyria and Babylon, until the conquest of Babylon by Tiglath Adar I. The power of Babylon during this period was emphasized. (2.) From Adarpalekur to the son of Tiglathpileser I. A detailed account was given of Tiglathpileser, the most important of the kings. (3.) From Shamshiramman II. to Ashurnirari. The most important events in the lives of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmeneser II., the two most prominent kings of this period, were given.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 72.—FOUR WEEKS ENDING JANUARY 12, 1890.

Sunday, December 16.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be conducted and addressed by students.

Tuesday, December 18.—*Philosophical Club*—Paper by Mr. B. M. Wright, on Pessimism. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, December 19.—*First College Term Ends*, 6 P. M.

Thursday, December 20.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 10 A. M.

Tuesday, January 8.—*Second College Term* begins, 8.10 A. M.

Wednesday, January 9.—*Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper, Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Thursday, January 10.—*The Young Preacher's Outfit* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Professor John A. Broadus, D.D., of Louisville, Ky. Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M.

Friday January 11.—*Freshness in Preaching* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper on the Reconstruction of Western Virginia, Missouri, and Tennessee, by Mr. Frederick W. Moore. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M.

NO. 78.—WEEK ENDING JANUARY 19, 1889.

Sunday, January 13.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Professor John A. Broadus, D.D., of Louisville, Ky. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by Professor Reynolds.

Tuesday January 15.—*The Spanish School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 3 P. M. *Sensation Preaching* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7.15 P. M. *University Chamber Concert*—North Sheffield Hall, 8.15 P. M.

Wednesday, January 16.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper, Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Discussion on the Propriety of the General Government's recognizing the Organization of Labor. Linonia Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Thursday, January 17.—*Freedom in Preaching* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M.

Friday, January 18.—*The Minister's General Reading* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M. *College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Lectures at the School of the Fine Arts.—Professor Hoppin will give during the present term a course of ten Lectures, at the Art School, beginning on Tuesday, January 15, at 3 P. M., and continuing on successive Tuesdays at the same hour.

University Chamber Concerts.—The second concert of the series will be given on Tuesday evening, January 15, by Messrs. Dannreuther, Hartdegen and Richard Hoffman, with the following programme:—Beethoven,—Trio, Op. 70, in D Major. Greig,—Sonata Op. 8, in F Major, for Pianoforte and Violin. Schumann,—Novelette, Wagner,—Spinning Song, Piano Solo. Schubert,—Trio, Op. 99, in B Flat. Tickets to the remaining five (possibly six) Concerts, at \$2.00 for the series, can be obtained at the Treasurer's Office at the Co-operative Store, at Beers' Drug Store, and from the Janitor of North Sheffield Hall.

Lectures on Evolution.—*Yale College.*—Professor J. D. Dana will give a course of nine Lectures on Evolution to the Senior Class, in the Lecture Room of the Peabody Museum, beginning on Wednesday, January 16, at 2 P. M., and continuing on successive Wednesdays at the same hour.

Subjects for Sophomore Compositions.—*Yale College.*—1. Anna Karénina. (Tolstóï.) 2. Matthew Arnold as a Critic. 3. Burke's Attitude towards the French Revolution. 4. Richard Steele. 5. New Haven Architecture. 6. Presidential Candidates since 1840. 7. Ballot Reform. 8. Trusts. 9. The Annexation of Canada. 10. The forms of Local Government in your own State. (Describe and discuss them.) 11. General Boulanger. The compositions will be due at No. 4 Treasury building on Saturday morning, February 9th.

NO. 74.—WEEK ENDING JANUARY 26, 1889.

Sunday, January 20.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. George A. Gordon, of Boston, Mass. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by the Rev. Mr. Gordon.

Tuesday, January 22.—*Last Day for payment of College Term Bills*—Treasurer's Office, 9 A. M.—3 P. M. *The Spanish School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School 8 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Eighteenth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7.15 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Paper by Mr. J. F. Morse, on The Psychology of the Spiritual Life. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, January 23.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Historical Paper by Mr. Charles H. Wissner, on The First Assyrian Period. Professor Harper's Residence, 185 College st., 7 P. M.

Thursday, January 24.—*The Minister's General Reading* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M.

Friday, January 25.—*The Minister and his Hymn-book* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Greek Readings.—Professor Seymour will translate the last books of Homer's Iliad, with brief comments, on successive Tuesday evenings at Room No. 195, Old Chapel.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

REALISTIC IDEALISM.*—In his Introduction the author of these volumes takes pains to state clearly what kind of a philosophical system he has exposed and proposes to expound and defend. After a brief historical survey of the shifting phases and Protean shapes which the long and varied contest (i. e. of philosophy as to the true explanation of reality) has assumed, he sums up all in the following four Theories of the Universe: (1.) The Biblical-Supernatural Theory; (2.) The Materialistic-Machine Theory; (3.) The Mystical-Idealistic Theory; and (4.) The Realistic-Ideal Theory. The first of these four is said to be founded on the myths and miracles of the Bible, whereby philosophy is taken to be a science of matter and therefore becomes impossible and impertinent. The theory called "Realistic-Ideal" is the author's own, and is defined as holding that "the Real and the Ideal are not two distinct worlds, but only the two sides or aspects of one and the same whole Actuality of real Essence and Power. The method of this philosophy is the "universal method of the Metaphysical Logic which takes up all science into intelligible and clear solution." The first volume traces the proofs of this philosophical theory in the systems of notable thinkers, especially of Hegel; and the second volume attempts the same thing in the world of nature and mind.

The book has evidently been undertaken with commendable seriousness by its author, and shows unmistakable signs of being the result of much painstaking reflection and wide reading. It shows, however, equally clear signs of dealing with many questions which have never been thought through, or even made familiar in the way in which they become so to the trained philosopher; and as well as of taking not a few of its quoted opinions at second hand, with a misunderstanding of the real views of the authors quoted. We are again reminded of how difficult a task

* *Realistic Idealism in Philosophy Reelf.* By NATHANIEL HOLMES. 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888.

it is intelligently and consistently even to state for adoption any metaphysical theory of the origin and significance of the world. .

THE SPIRIT OF BEAUTY.*—This little book contains a collection of spicy and entertaining essays which, for the most part, are a keen criticism of certain attempts made to apply the principles of Darwinian evolution to ethics and æsthetics. The first of these essays is entitled "Beauty and Beast." Here it is affirmed that the Spencerian and other evolutionary explanations of the origin of the idea of the beautiful have but a show of basis in the phenomena of animal life. The facts to which Darwin appealed in proof of the theory that beauty of coloring constitutes a prominent influence in natural selection, are deemed altogether inadequate for this purpose. Moreover, the occurrence of typical forms of beauty in widely separated species of animals, or even in inorganic structures, shows plainly that the æsthetic is far too deeply seated in nature to be accounted for by the hypothesis of evolution. Are we to believe with Hæckel, Dr. Parker inquires, that surviving savages show crudity as to their sense of color, and note with Grant-Allen that the average farmer sees in convolvulus nothing but a useless weed, and yet at the same time suppose that "this latest, highest-cultured appreciation of the most exquisite shapes and colors existed all along, for untold ages, in bees and birds?"

The other most important of these essays is entitled "Mind in Animals." Upon this subject the author is rightly, exceedingly distrustful of all the evidence ordinarily alleged to prove that even the most intelligent of the animals ever *thinks*, in the most true and proper sense of this word. Both the psychology and the logic are in the wrong, of those who ascribe the conduct which results from blind, inherited impulse, or from wonderfully acute sensation coupled with prompt and strong association, to true processes of abstraction, to the forming of general notions, and to ratiocination. Huxley is right: brutes are virtually automats, but sensitive rather than conscious, as we can understand consciousness.

* *The Spirit of Beauty. Essays, Scientific and Æsthetic.* By HENRY W. PARKER. New York: John B. Alden, 1888.

THE VIRTUES AND THEIR REASONS.*—The author explains in the Preface that this treatise “is especially adapted for moral training in the public schools and higher institutions of learning.” It is quite too elementary and devoid of all theoretical and scientific character, however, to be adapted to the latter class of educational institutions. Only some three pages—called “Introductory”—are occupied with presentation of “the Ground and Rule of Right” and “the Classification of Duties.” The remainder of the book is taken up with remarks upon the various duties, both “regarding others chiefly,” and “regarding self chiefly.” These remarks it certainly would do no harm for the pupil in the public schools to study; and, if illustrated further and enforced by competent oral instruction, their study might result in good.

THE LAW OF EQUIVALENTS.†—“The following treatise,” says its author, “is semi-philosophical, semi-practical.” It is—that is to say—the statement of a fundamental law, followed by the exposition and application of the law to a variety of subjects in political and social morals. This law, when reduced to set formula, is stated in the following terms: For a large class of objects (indeed for most objects that do not fall under the principles of mere trade), upon which men place a high value, nature exacts as a price, not quantity, but specific quality of effort. For the attainment of these objects, payment must be made in exact kind; no barter or substitution is recognized. Neither will surplus offerings or endowments in some other than precisely the right direction atone for lack in this direction.

After expounding and illustrating the different factors of this principle, and enumerating different, so-called “equivalents,” Mr. Payson proceeds to apply it to Woman Suffrage, the Family Institution, Education, etc.

The book makes a vigorous stand for a very wholesome truth, and does this, on the whole, in an interesting and instructive manner. It is perhaps, however, rather too much of a continuous sermon, and its style in places seems a little artificial and strained by the endeavor to be emphatic and impressive.

* *A System of Ethics for Society and Schools.* By AUSTIN BIERBOWER. Chicago: George Sherwood & Co. 1888.

† *The Law of Equivalents in its Relation to Political and Social Ethics.* By EDWARD PAYSON. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888.

DR. MCCOSH'S "GOSPEL SERMONS."*—These sermons will serve well the purpose for which they were published. It is intimated in the preface that they are designed as testimony to the author's interest in the Gospel. "I am anxious that the public should know that much as I value philosophy, I place the Gospel of Jesus Christ above it." They have a pastoral quality that is interesting. Most of them are evidently the product of pastoral experience. Some of them, we are informed, were preached to the students of Princeton College, but there is nothing of the academic quality about them. In range of thought they do not reach a very high level. They are, however, simple in style and clear in outline, following largely the textual method of treatment. They were selected for publication because they were supposed to present "most clearly the way of salvation." It is not always easy to understand just what is meant by "Gospel sermons," or by the "way of salvation." Just what our venerable author would regard as the heart of the "Gospel" and just what his statement of the "way of salvation" would be is not made manifest by this volume. None of the sermons are distinctively apologetic. Some of them are prevaillingly ethical, some are parenetic, and a few have a somewhat evangelistic quality. It may be intended to set forth the Gospel in its distinctive features. It is not done, however, either evangelistically or apologetically. The chief interest of the volume is in the fact, that it is the product of a man who has won distinction in another and very different field of service and in the evidence which it furnishes that he holds the Gospel as a Christian experience and that he possesses a very kindly and genial spirit.

L. O. BRASTOW.

THE NONSUCH PROFESSOR.†—This is a treatise on the Christian life in the form of a sermon. Like most of the sermons of the time in which it was written, the early part of this century, it first

† *Gospel Sermons*. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Ex-President of Princeton College, Author of "Method of Divine Government;" "Intuitions of the Mind Inductively Examined," etc. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1888.

* *The Nonsuch Professor in his Meridian Splendor; or the Singular Actions of Sanctified Christians*. By the Rev. WILLIAM SECKER, Minister of All-Hallows Church, Londonwall. With an Introduction by Rev. T. L. Cuyler, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1888.

discusses the subject doctrinally and then practically. The whole discussion, however, is eminently practical in its subject matter and in its style. The pith and pungency of the sentences do not fail to leave an impression. They are short and aphoristic. They abound in the short metaphor, the antithesis and the climax. An impression of artificiality results, as if the writer had consciously elaborated this style. At any rate one wearies of it after awhile. One could name two or three well known American preachers whose style of preaching strikingly resembles that of Archbishop Secker in this sententious and aphoristic quality. The book, however, is a helpful one and may be read with profit. It is far better than the ordinary manual of devotion.

L. O. BRASTOW.

THE SERMON BIBLE.*—We have here a collection of extracts from modern sermons, mostly of the expository sort, based upon passages contained in the first ten books of the Bible. It is the first of a proposed series of twelve volumes which shall contain "the essence of the best homiletical literature of this generation." Thus fragments of exposition of all the books of the Bible will be brought to our notice. The plan is not unlike that of Spurgeon's *Treasury of David*. The latter is on a larger scale, however, and has a more complex object. It gathers a larger variety of material and wholly from the older writers and preachers and is intended as an aid to practical devotion as well as pulpit work. The work before us deals wholly with modern preachers and writers, is limited mostly to expository discourse and is intended as an aid to preachers. "It is confidently hoped that this volume will prove an indispensable part of every preacher's library." As a study of varieties of expository method in preaching it may be of great value to preachers. Nothing that has ever been published will equal it in this respect. It may also be a great aid for devotional uses. It will not fail moreover to leave a strong impression of the homiletic suggestiveness of the Bible, even of those portions of it which seem least fruitful and least practically useful. As to the rest its value is more than doubtful. The selections are from a great variety of sources. The nearly three hundred preachers or authors represented here are for the most part well known and favorably known. The selections from their

* *The Sermon Bible*. Genesis to II. Samuel. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 714 Broadway. 1888.

utterances are judiciously made and properly condensed. There are large lists of references also to works that are not quoted. The work cannot fail to give us a strong impression of the range and variety in modern preaching, of its superior Biblical quality, of its spirituality, its freshness, and its practical power. For this reason at least it will be welcomed by every enterprising student of preaching.

L. O. BRASTOW.

The frontispiece of the *MAGAZINE OF ART* for February gives perhaps the best portrait of Mr. Gladstone that has ever been published. The original is Millais' painting and this has been reproduced by the photogravure process with remarkable accuracy. A few pages further on and we are given a paper on "Mr. Gladstone and His Portraits," by T. Wemyss Reid, which is illustrated with capital engravings from various portraits and caricatures, a full page being devoted to the portrait made by Watts in 1858. This is followed by the first of a series of papers on "The Isle of Arran;" after which comes a poem by Algernon Charles Swinburne written in the Scotch dialect and supposed to be a Jacobite's farewell to his sweetheart in 1715. Some "Thoughts on our Art of To-Day," by Geo. Frederick Watts, R.A., are given, in which he takes occasion to speak pleasantly of a little work on art by Verestchagin, the Russian painter, whose paintings are now on exhibition in this country.—Cassell & Co., New York, 35 cents a number, \$3.50 a year in advance.

THE *ART AMATEUR* for February gives two colored plates, a moonlight landscape, and the first of a series of fern designs for China decoration. The black-and-white designs include Easter decorations—lilies and ecclesiastical designs for dorse and banners; a large four page design for a screen panel, the first of a series representing the seasons; designs for a plate (orchids), two salad-plates, a fish plate and a Royal Worcester vase, a striking double page wild rose design for a carved and perforated panel, and a pleasing tapestry decoration, after Boucher, "The Fountain of Love." The frontispiece is a "Head of a Creole." The practical articles relate to still life, flower, water color and tapestry painting, Easter decoration and home adornment. Articles of particular interest are "Hints from Japanese Homes," and Mr. Kunz's talk about jade. Price 35 cents a number, \$4 a year. Montague Marks, Publisher, 23 Union Square, N. Y.

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- ART. I.** How a New England Frontier Town Grew Up in the Old Colonial Times. *William L. Kingsley, New Haven.*
II. The Why of Poverty. *George H. Hubbard, Norton, Mass.*
III. Euphuism in Literature and Style. *T. W. Hunt, Princeton, N. J.*
IV. Ultimate Distinction in Philosophical Methods. *Rikizo Nakashima, Yale University.*

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

Classical and Philosophical Society of Yale College.
Yale University Bulletin.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Lanciani's "Ancient Rome." By Rodolfo Lanciani.—History of the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention of 1788. By Joseph B. Walker.—Examination of Spencer's Philosophy. By Rev. W. D. Ground.—Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian. By Edward T. Bartlett, D.D., and John P. Peters, Ph.D.

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NEW ENGLANDER AND YALE REVIEW.

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ARTICLE I.—HOW A NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER TOWN GREW UP IN THE OLD COLONIAL TIMES.

Colonial Times on Buzzard's Bay. By WILLIAM ROOT BLISS.
Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. 12mo. pp. 185.

THE object of the writer of the book whose title we have placed above has been to give the story of the settlement and growth of a New England town, in the old colonial times, with special reference to the social life of its inhabitants, in that age of homespun. The town is one for which the author evidently has a strong affection; and the book is one upon which he has bestowed the loving labor of years. We may add, also, that he has been so successful in what he has attempted that even those who have never seen the picturesque scenes which he describes—the fine woodlands “with soft brown silence carpeted,” the rivers and ponds, the sedgy field brooks—will read these

daintily printed pages with interest, and learn to share with the author some of the feelings which have given him inspiration.

The name of the town, however, we do not need to mention, as it is of little importance for the object which we have in view. We know nothing of it beyond what Mr. Bliss has told us, and we have been led to take it as the theme of the remarks which we wish to make, for the single reason that it was evidently one of the least considerable of the early New England towns. Its first settlers were very plain people—"used to a plaine countrie life & ye inocente trade of husbandrey"—and the soil which they tilled was about as unpromising as any to be found between Cape Cod and the Hudson river. So it has seemed to us that the characteristics of the early New Englanders, and their way of doing things—their excellencies and especially their deficiencies—might be seen more clearly, and might be studied to better advantage, in the history of some such out-of-the-way community as this which grew up in obscurity on Buzzard's Bay, than in the history of other towns which are better known, and which were settled by people of more consideration.

It is very important that it should not be forgotten that the "American Commonwealth," as Mr. Bryce has pictured it in his recent book, did not attain to its present condition without many serious struggles. There is danger that the eulogies on our ancestors which have been made by Fourth-of-July orators, and on anniversary occasions, have led many persons to suppose that all we now enjoy as a people was secured to us by the simple landing on these shores of a few thousand Englishmen of exceptionally good character, who proceeded at once to unfold in a quiet and natural way certain advanced religious and political views which they had brought with them. On the contrary, the fact is that the average Englishman of the seventeenth century was a man of very coarse fibre, and that the early New England colonists were after all, in many particulars, not so far in advance of their countrymen whom they left at home as many persons suppose. There came over with them, also, or drifted in among them, a certain proportion of men of bad moral character, of men who were mere adventurers, of cranks, of inefficient people, who made trouble themselves, and whose

descendants have never ceased to furnish inmates for our jails and poor-houses during all these years. The true explanation of the "American Commonwealth" of to-day is to be found in the fact that a large proportion of the early colonists had accepted the Bible as their rule of conduct, and, here in this wilderness, separated from England by three thousand miles of ocean, had an opportunity, unfettered by authority of any kind, to try the experiment of founding a State in accordance with the principles of that book which they accepted as the Word of God. As for the rest, those men—even the best of them—brought with them many of the erroneous views—political and religious—which were then accepted not only in England, but in all parts of the civilized world. But they were men of strong common sense—serious minded and practical Englishmen—who were seeking with all earnestness to ascertain and to do the will of God. They were ready to learn by experience, and to adapt their theories to whatever new exigencies arose. The result was that gradually—and it was only gradually—the conception was gained of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." But we will reserve what we have to say on this aspect of American history till we have reached the close of what we have to say of the book that Mr. Bliss has given us.

The value of his book consists in the fact that he has presented a picture of early colonial times, which is true to the life. He has had the discernment to see what were the shortcomings of the men who laid the foundations of our institutions. We have already called attention to the fact that what he has written is all the more valuable for the reason that the town he describes was not at all an ideal New England town. In its history, therefore, these shortcomings are the more apparent. We do not mean to intimate that the author has been unmindful of the excellencies of the people whom he describes, but he has not been afraid to put the dark shades into his picture, when truth has demanded it. For this reason it is, that we ask our readers to follow us as we repeat in outline some parts of the story he has so charmingly told.

Mr. Bliss informs us that after the war with "King Philip" had ended, and the territory which had belonged to that In-

dian chief had been annexed to Plymouth Colony, the lands on the western shore of Buzzard's Bay—"the lands of Sippican," as they were called—were purchased by a company composed of some of the principal men of that colony. These lands were esteemed valuable for their fisheries, their pine woodlands, their cedar and spruce swamps, and especially for rich meadows on the "necks," which extended into the bay. The purchasers went to work at once to turn their property to good account. On March 10, 1679, they met "at Joseph Burgs his house at Sandwich," and selected five of their number "to go to take a vew of the Lands and to determin where the house Lots shall be Layed out," directing to make the lots "40 ackors if the Land will Beare it." Then, to attract emigration, they declared that those "that first settell and are Livers" shall be allowed to make on the commons "ten Barrells of tarr a peece for a yeare." The purchasers who did not become "Livers" were not to be "alowed to make any Tarre of the pine knots or wood that is within the Limmits" for the space of five years.

To the east of these "lands of Sippican," adjoining them, and nearer to Plymouth, was another tract of land at the head of the bay, known as the "Agawame Plantation," which had been bought of the Indians by the Plymouth colony at a very early period in its history. This tract was sold by the Colony in 1682 to six Englishmen for two hundred and eighty pounds, "current money," to obtain the means of building a meeting-house in Plymouth town. The purchasers met at once, divided their estate into six shares, laid out six "home lotts" of sixty acres each, "to build any hous or housen upon." They met again and laid out "sixe tracts of meadow," divided the uplands, and appointed four of their number to lay out "convenient publike & private high waies." When next they met, they "declared thar selves contented and satisfid with what was don, and there set too thare handes in the smal bucke where all thes devisins ware first written."

The lands which were now offered for sale in these two plantations were not long left without occupants. The town of Plymouth, where the little band of "Pilgrims" had established themselves with such difficulty sixty years before, had prospered. The children of the men and women who there fought

so long with famine and disease, and had so courageously held on to the barren shore on which they first landed, had increased and multiplied, and had begun to find the town which their fathers had founded too small for their needs. That longing to push into the wilderness and make new homes for themselves, which has become such a marked characteristic of their descendants, had already begun to be developed in them. So the purchasers of the "lands of Sippican" and "Agawame" were speedily made glad by the incoming of those who came to be—as they had termed it—"Livers."

We have already said that these people were a very plain people. It is not to be forgotten that their fathers had been plain people before them. There were a few able men in the Plymouth colony—Brewster, and Bradford, and Winslow, and Miles Standish—but the greater part of the inhabitants, though they were indeed "the salt of the earth," did not compare with the people of the other New England colonies in enterprise, in education, or in knowledge of affairs. It is true that the other colonies thought more highly of them than they did of the heterogeneous population that had collected around Roger Williams in Providence; but judging the Plymouth people by their own higher standards, they were disposed to look somewhat askance at them, as lax in the administration of their laws, careless of the education of their children, and even wanting in due care for the ordinances of religion. It is an interesting study to inquire how these very plain Anglo-Saxon farmers, of the first generation of native born Americans—who had enjoyed few opportunities for mental culture, who knew little of what was going on in other parts of the world, and who cared for little beyond their immediate neighborhood—were to thrive in the new homes which they were to make for themselves.

The first thing to be noticed is the care and readiness with which these men arranged for the government of their little communities. There was for some time no town organization; but, in both "Sippican" and "Agawame" there existed a kind of dual government. The management of all those matters which affected proprietary rights was assumed by the proprie-

tors, who exercised a supreme authority in entire separation from the body of the inhabitants. We can judge of their theory by what they did. In Sippican, the proprietors made laws to prevent the exportation of lumber. They forbade strange Indians "to hunt or catch deer" within their limits. They made a decree to prohibit any person from cutting "cedar, spruce, or pine, except he fairly demonstrate that he stands in need of it." They ordered a fine of five pounds to be paid by every Englishman and Indian "who shall set on fire the woods in anny part of the Township, and neglect to put it out before they depart the Spott." They appropriated land for highways. In Agawame, following the custom of Teutonic farmers who felled wood in a common forest and grazed cattle in a common pasture, the proprietors allowed each one of their number to graze only "thurtitoo nete catel and fouer horses" or "six sheepe instead of one Beast." They appointed an officer to watch the pastures, to see that they were equitably enjoyed, and to report if any man sent in more cattle than his proportion. Farmers who were not proprietors were allowed pasturage on unused rights if they brought to the watchman "a note or token to his sattisfaction whose Rite they came upon." The proprietors also set apart lands for a public "buri- ing place." They gave directions about the fisheries.

Other matters which affected only the interests of the people at large were left to the actual settlers. In their informal meetings, the people of each of the two communities came among themselves to some sort of agreement or understanding as to what should be done for the common interest. But these agreements or understandings were always conditioned on "the consent of the proprietors," whose prerogative appears to have been regarded like that of the King. The matters which came up in these neighborhood gatherings respected, for instance, such practical things as how to deal with the wolves, wildcats, and foxes, which made havoc of the farmers' sheep; and with crows, blackbirds, robins, and squirrels, that devastated the planted fields.

But it is interesting to find that the thoughts of these people were not so exclusively taken up with the cares of their

frontier life that they were unmindful of higher interests. It is to be kept in mind that this was not a New England community of the most elevated type; and that for this reason, all that these men did is the more significant. So we call attention to the fact that, in each of the two plantations, among the very first things with which they concerned themselves was a suitable provision for both religion and education. In Sippican, when the proprietors met in April, 1680, to draw lots for homesteads and salt meadows, they appointed the first and second house-lots drawn, with two meadows, and two lots in the best of the woodland, "for the minister & for the ministration." The people, too, on their part, offered to build "a meeting-house." It was "to be sit on the westerly Sid of the long bridg," and they "did agree to pay for the meeting-house which was to be builded by a free-will offering of fifty pounds." Rights to build pews were sold by auction; the pews "to be al of a haith and bult work manlike," and seats were to be placed "nye the pulpit stairs for Antient parsons to sett in."

No less than this would have satisfied what from the first seems to have been almost an instinct of all New Englanders; yet it must be confessed that, as a matter of fact, it was not till three years later that the Rev. Samuel Shiverick was procured "to preach the word of god to them at Scippican;" and not till seventeen years later, that a meeting-house was built. Six years more passed before a church was organized, when the Reverend Samuel Arnold wrote in the records, with great satisfaction: "It hath pleased our gracious God to shine in this dark corner of this wilderness and visit this dark spot of ground with the dayspring from on high, through his tender mercy to settle a church according to the order of the Gospel, October 13, A. D. 1703."

Here another fact is to be noticed, significant both of the sense of justice which marked the people and especially of the readiness which early manifested itself everywhere in New England to throw away all views which they had brought from England which conflicted with the new condition of things. It appears that, when the church was organized, some of the people in Sippican were found to be no longer of the prevailing religious faith. Accordingly these persons protested

against being called on to pay the tax which was laid "for the encouragement & soport of a minister." This protest was considered, and an abatement of the tax was made "upon such inhabitance as are of contrery judgement & now professed Quakers."

As another illustration of the honorable spirit with which this little community of frontiersmen was disposed to act in all its dealings, we find that after the first apportionment, when it was proposed "to Laye oute sum hie waye into the Neckes" on the bay, and it was found that such a highway "must of nesesity come over the southerd end of Samuel Bate his home lots which was veri much damig" to him, each proprietor gave him as compensation "his sevrel rite in two or three small peses of medo [meadow].

It is to be noticed also that the same spirit of justice was shown in their treatment of the Indians. They had purchased their lands from "the Court," yet when they found that their title was disputed by some of the Indian sachems—"Charles," "Manomet Peter," and "Will Connet," as they were called by the English—the proprietors, after considering their claims, settled with them all to their full satisfaction. "Will Connet's" claim was the largest. He professed to be "lord paramount of all the territory bordering on the Wewantet and Woonkinco rivers to 'Plymouthes westerly tree at Agawaame,'" and "did disclaime and defie the title of every these men called the purchasers of Sepecan." The proprietors "satisfied him by paying him a pound sterling, a trucking cloth coat valued at ten shillings, and by making him a member of their company. His name was written upon the roll of shareholders—described in the records of the Plymouth Court as—"Substanciall men that are prudent psons and of considerable estates." It is well to notice what was the effect of their action. This wild Indian—"Will Connet"—became a peaceable citizen, ready to recognize all the responsibilities of his new status. When the proprietors taxed themselves for building a grist-mill, he "promised for him self and his brother John to give six barrells of tarr to wards sd mill."

We have already stated that the proprietors of these plantations, in accordance with another of the instincts of New

Englanders, expressed their intention of making provision for education. But even in Plymouth itself, their fathers had been accused of culpable negligence in the care of their schools; and perhaps it is not surprising that—as far as appears from this book—it was not till after twenty-six years had passed that the people chose “mrs. jane mashell for to teach childered & youth to Reed & to writte.” For “her panes” she was “to have her dyet, and to receive twelve pounds.” Her migratory school does not seem to have been what might be called a success, for it was not long before doubts arose about the “soberness of her conversation,” and three “ungallant men,” as Mr. Bliss calls them, “requested to have theire protest entered for that they accounted she was not as the law directs.”

Having described the manner in which these two little communities came into existence, Mr. Bliss next proceeds to give a picture of the social life that existed in them for the first fifty years. It is to be remembered that they were more isolated from the rest of the world than any community at the present time in Idaho. The principal occupation of the people was the tillage of the soil, which, when fertilized with fish and sea weeds, produced abundant crops of corn, rye, wheat, oats, and flax. They also traded in peltries, fish, and timber. They gathered turpentine from the pine trees which abounded on every side. “In each family, the labors of the day began before sunrise; and sons, daughters, and indentured servants all took part in them. They suspended work only for their meals, and ended it only when the candles were put out at early bedtime. The women did the housework, tended the hens, the geese, and the calves; scoured the brass warming-pans and pewter dishes; spun flax and wool yarn, and wove them into cloths from which the clothing and bedding of the family were made by their own hands; and if more was made than was needed at home, it was bartered away.” In such a community there were no poor people. There was no reason that the larder of the humblest family among them should not be bountifully supplied with food, and “they supplemented their tables with game from the forests, with water-fowl and shore-birds, which frequented the maritime parts of the plantation in

great numbers. Besides what food the sea liberally furnished, they had also choice from flesh of beef, mutton, venison, partridge, and wild turkey."

The social life of the times receives still further illustration from the description which Mr. Bliss gives of the way in which the people dealt with each other in trade and barter. There was very little, if any ready money. Accounts were allowed to stand open for years before they were settled; and when at last the amounts had been carefully reckoned, the balance was adjusted with a promise to rectify thereafter any mistakes. To show how this was done we quote a few of the queer entries which Mr. Bliss has gathered from some of the old account books which he has examined.

"Reconed with Joseph blakmor and thare is due him one bushall of wheat and 12 bushalls of otes and 11 bushalls of inden corn and one shilling."

"Reconed with margret bates as Exrecter to har husband and ol accounts balanced A mistak in Reconing 6 shilling for my hos."

"Reconed with Ebnezer Swift and thare is a mistak of 2 quarts of maleses."

"Reconed with Ebnezer Luce and accounts balanced from the begining of the world to the date here of."

A certain farmer, we are also told, in payment of the charges of a tanner for the exercise of his "mystery," threw in "one dog" to balance the account.

Now it is not at all surprising that such a people, who were industrious in their habits, should soon begin to feel that the great object of life was to get out of their farms every farthing that they could be made to yield. It became the habit of their lives to squander nothing and to practice a rigid economy in all things. How close and shrewd they learned to be in their bargains appears from some additional entries quoted from that same old account book.

"February. Samuel bates to worck with me 6 mounths for 22 pounds and if he loos Any time to abate acordingly and If I se cause to have him make up the los of timme after he hath made his Salt hay he is to du it."

"November 8 Ebenezer bessee to work for mee to 10 day of March at night with his own ax and I am to find him meet drink washing and logging And I am to give him the vallew of 10 pounds but not in mony and hee is to cut 2 cords of wood in a day when hee doth no other work, and I am to pay him one half in goods and the other in bills of credit and if I think he dont ern his wages he is to go Away."

"January the 28 day Theophilus Wood hiered him self to mee for one Yeare for thirty-six pounds.

An additional entry in this account with Theophilus Wood shows how the worthy laboring man fared when he was laid aside from work for a few days by "fever and ague fits." The following charge was formally entered in the farmer's book for "time loost."

"April. Dr. to siknes the fever and ago 4 fites one weke and three the next."

Just how soon the authorities of the Colony of Massachusetts found it necessary to assume the responsibility of administering some form of government over this region of Arcadian simplicity and happiness does not appear from the statements in the book from which we derive all our information. Apparently it was not long before Mr. Israel Fearing was commissioned as "His Majesty's Justice of the Peace;" and it is interesting to see how he was regarded by his neighbors. We are told the people spoke of him as "The Squire," and treated him with respect as the representative of "our Sovereign Lord the King." He was not put in office because he was wise and learned in the law; but rather because he was one of the "most sufficient persons" dwelling, in the county, "known to be loyal, of dignified deportment, and possessed of lands or tenements yielding a certain annual value."

Mr. Bliss says: "The colonial laws which he administered had been made by wise legislators, who intended that there should be neither traveling, labor, nor amusement on Sunday, but a solemn and decorous observance of the day by everybody, and a general attendance at the public services in the meeting-house; that there should be no profane swearing, nor cursing of persons or creatures; no drunkenness, nor brawls; that debtors should pay their debts, and if a debtor could not

pay with money a judgment obtained against him, that he must pay it by service if the creditor required him to do so. If offenders did not pay the fines imposed upon them, he could place them in the stocks, or order them to be whipped. Persons who lived disorderly, 'misspending their precious time,' he could send to the work-house, to the stocks, or to the whipping-post, at his discretion. He could break open doors where liquors were concealed to defraud His Majesty's excise. He could issue hue-and-cries for runaway servants and thieves. There are instances on record in which a justice of the peace issued his warrant to arrest the town minister about whose orthodoxy there were distressing rumors, and required him to be examined upon matters of doctrine and faith. But a more pleasing function of his office was to marry those who came to him for marriage, bringing the town clerk's certificate that their nuptial intentions had been proclaimed at three religious meetings in the parish during the preceding fortnight."

We get however a somewhat more vivid impression of what one of "His Majesty's Justices of the Peace" really was, at this period of our colonial history, from reading some of the official accounts of what he actually did.

"May th 10 Day then Parsonly appeared Japhath washburn and acknowledged himself Gilty of a Breach of Sabbath In traveling From my hous onto Zaphanier Bumps on the 18 Day of april on a arond To Git Benjamin Benson to worck for him and he hath paid Ten Shillings as a Fine To me John Fearing Justis of peace."

"September th 5 Day personally appeared william Estes and acknowledged him Self Gilty of Racking hay on The First Day of the week or Lords Day and paid Fine Ten Shillings to me."

But it was not only so-called misdemeanors such as these that came under his cognizance. "All boys and girls who laughed during the time of worship" were made to feel a suitable awe of this dignified public functionary. On the records of his court stand various entries like the one we transfer to our pages as a sample.

"Deborah Berghs hath paid me as a fine for Laving in the Wareham meeting house on the Sabarth day In the time of Publick Devine Service By the hand of Ebenezer Brigs 5 Shillings."

The account which Mr. Bliss gives of the proceedings at one of the Squire's courts is so suggestive that we quote it in full.

"One November day . . . this dignitary dismounted in front of the inn and entered the bar-room. He laid aside his beaver hat and red camlet cloak trimmed with fox skins, and seated himself by the great fireplace to chat with his brother the landlord; when there entered a sailor from a sloop just arrived from Nantucket, who, after drinking a grog, became boisterous and finally profane. Whereupon the scene was changed. The bar-room was transformed into a court-room, and this audacious offender of the King's peace was tried, condemned, and punished according to colony law. The sentence which placed him in the stocks read as follows :

"At a cort held before John Fearing Esquire one of his majesties Justices of the peace at the House of Benjamin Fearing on the 11 of November Jonathan Wing marriner being Convicted for preafainly Swaring in the Preasence and hearing of said Justice Two preafain Oaths It is considered by said Justice that the said Jonathan pay a fine of Five Shillings for the first of said Oaths and one Shilling For the other to his majesty For the use of the Poor of Wareham or In Default thereof that the said Jonathan being a common sailor shall be sett in the Stocks an Hour and halfe."

In such a primitive way as this, more than fifty years went quietly by, when at last the people of "Sippican" and "Agawame" were seized with the ambition of having a town government of their own. Even the most easterly of the two plantations was separated from the town of Plymouth, of which it was still a part, by fifteen miles of wilderness. It was proposed that the two communities should be united so as to form one town. We will not dwell on the preliminary steps that were taken, but we are told that Squire Fearing was induced to lobby the matter with the selectmen of Plymouth, and "the result was so satisfactory, that after the meeting had adjourned he treated the selectmen at an expense of three shillings." The petition was then to be taken to the legislature at Boston, and the way this was done, and the journey, are described in a manner so picturesque that we give it here in full.

"Early in the morning of the 29th of May, 1738, his mare having been newly shod and carefully saddled, Israel Fearing

started on the journey to Boston. The road which he traveled was narrow and tortuous—a lane through a forest, having rocks and quagmires and long reaches of sand, which made it almost impassable to wheels, if any there were, to be ventured upon it. Branches of large trees were stretched over it, so that it was unvisited by sunlight except at those places where it crossed the clearings on which a solitary husbandman had established his homestead, or where it followed the sandy shores of some of those picturesque ponds which feed the rivers emptying into Buzzard's Bay. Occasionally a deer bounded across the path, and foxes were seen running into the thickets.

"The nimble mare, accustomed to such ways, carried her rider at a steady pace during the day, baiting at Scituate village, and reaching Roxbury Neck about five o'clock in the afternoon, where a stop for a half hour was made at the St. George tavern. From this elevated site the traveler saw the steeples of Boston, its harbor lively with vessels, the King's ships riding before the town, Cambridge and the shores of the mainland in the distance. Having refreshed himself and the mare he trotted along the narrow way leading into the great town, on which the most prominent object attracting his attention was a gallows standing at the gate.

"When he rode within he found in everything around him a wonderful contrast to the quiet and monotonous scenes which had always surrounded his life at Agawame. The streets were paved with cobble-stones, and were thronged with hackney-coaches, sedan-chairs, four-horse shays, and calashes, in some of which gaily dressed people were riding, the horses being driven by their negro slaves. Gentlemen on handsome saddle-horses paced by him, in comparison with whom he made a sorry figure. But he was reassured of his own manliness when he encountered a flock of sheep, and ox-carts just in from the country laden with fire-wood, fagots, and hay. He noticed with amazement the stately brick houses and their pleasant gardens, in which pear-trees and peach-trees were blooming. In the Mall, gentlemen dressed in embroidered coats, satin waistcoats, silken hose, and full wigs, were taking an after-dinner stroll with ladies who were attired in bright silks and furbelowed scarfs, and adorned with artificial flowers and patches on their

cheeks. Boston was an active, thrifty, trading town ; its shops, distilleries, wind-mills, and rope-walks were all agoing ; and as he turned his mare into King Street and pulled up at the Bunch of Grapes tavern, which, being near to the Town House, was conveniently situated for the business on which he was bent, he probably felt that in such a wealthy and worldly place his simple errand would receive but little attention. At the shutting in of the evening, James Warren, an influential member of the legislature from Plymouth, came to his assistance. To him the petition was intrusted, and having paid him twenty shillings, Israel Fearing rode back to Agawame."

The act of the legislature incorporating the new town was signed by Governor Belcher, July 10, 1739 : and in less than a month a town meeting was called for the purpose of setting up the machinery of government. At this meeting, a "town clark" was chosen for "the year Insuing," who was "to serve for nothing"—or, as it was expressed, "without fees from ye Town." Mr. Bliss says of this important officer, that "he did not always write the records in a scholarly style, nor in a readable hand. He was frugal minded also. The closely written lines, running zig-zag like a rail fence across the pages, reveal a desire to be saving of the book ; and the formation of his words shows that no extravagances could be allowed in the use of the alphabet." In fact, "the book testifies that one of the qualifications of candidates for this office was an entire want of skill to write the English language correctly." A treasurer was also chosen, and it was voted : "he is to serve the Town for Luve and good will." A "Clark of the markit" was appointed, who was to affix the town's seal to all "wates and mesuers" found to be true "according to the standards sent out of England in the reign of William and Mary." Fence viewers were elected, and inspectors of highways and bridges ; hog-reeves, and tything-men ; a military clerk, also, who four times a year was to list all persons required by law to bear arms and attend musters ; a gnager ; a cattle pound keeper ; and all the other public functionaries that a New England town deems to be necessary for the proper ordering of its affairs. As for the office of constable, there appears to have been a diffi-

culty in finding any person who would accept it. On one occasion six men were elected one after another, who each in turn refused to qualify. A fine was therefore imposed on any one who should be elected and did not take the oath prescribed. "In 1752, Butler Wing being chosen constable, refused to serve; whereupon he was prosecuted, and gave his promissory note for the amount of the fine. He asked repeatedly to be excused from the debt, but it was voted that the town would "not a Bate mr. Butler Wing any part of the money that he gave a note for for his Refusing to Sarve in the office of Constable when chosen by the Town in ye year 1752." The sequel of the matter appears in the treasurer's records of 1756, viz: "I have Reseved a fine paid by Butler Wing for not Sarving Constable 2 pounds 14 shillings." But of all the town officers, the "Selectmen" were chief. There were three of these chosen annually to take charge of "prudential affairs," under which title were included all the multifarious matters which affected the interests of the town. Mr. Bliss says that "they held their sessions at the tavern, where they usually sat the day out, and were served with victuals and grog at the town's cost, and were regarded by their host with the respect due to servants of the King."

The organization of the town having been thus described, Mr. Bliss takes up the "town meetings," and gives copious extracts from the records of what was done in them. Many of these are very suggestive. "Some of the measures discussed were medical, as "not to have Small Pox set up by Inoculation;" some were convivial, as "To pay Joshua Gibbs for two bowls of Grog" drunk while on the town's service. Some were pathetic, as "voted for makeing a Coffen for Alice Reed ten shillings—for her Winding Sheat three and four pence—for digging her grave three shillings." The student of history will be disposed to linger over these records, but our space will only allow us to refer to the action of the town in a single case which will not fail to awaken a sad interest in all who read it. It relates to a family of those poor, ignorant, and superstitious peasant-prisoners from Acadia, kin of Evangeline and Gabriel Lajeunesse, who were billeted upon the towns of Massachusetts by order of the royal Governor and Council.

The order in the original phraseology runs as follows: "To remove John Pelerine Wife and Children, supposed to be Five in Number, a Family of French Neutrals, to the Town of — and that the Select Men of the Town of — be and hereby are directed to receive them and provide for them." The town of course was obliged to comply, and so voted, in 1757, "to pay Six Shillings to Sam^l Savery for his Trouble and care of John Pennerine."

The consciousness of growing importance which had thus led the inhabitants of "Sippican" and "Agawame" to set up a town government could hardly fail to reveal itself in other ways; and, as we have already said, it is the special value of this book that Mr. Bliss has enabled us to follow the steps by which institutions of every kind were gradually developed in this very remote New England town. He traces, in the first place, what was done by the people for their religious interests. He tells us that, according to the laws of the Province of Massachusetts, it had now become their duty, as inhabitants of a town, to provide themselves "with an able, learned, and orthodox minister of good conversation, to dispense the Word of God unto them."

Till this time, they seem to have been sadly deficient in what was everywhere considered in New England to be the most important of religious privileges, the ministrations of a resident clergyman. It is true that when the two plantations were first occupied by the settlers, they had set apart land, in accordance with their instincts as descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, for the support of the ministry, and they had taken measures for the building a meeting-house. But, as a matter of fact, for a good part of the time that had intervened, they had been dependent on the occasional services of "Mr. Rouland Cotton," the minister of Sandwich town ten miles to the eastward, who at certain times rode over to preach. He was paid for this itinerant service "by the mowing and pasturage of the ministry meadow." Yet we have no doubt that, during all the years of the half-century before the formal organization of the town, Christian families had been numerous, and many devout men and women had been built up in the faith by the occasional

ministrations of Mr. Cotton, and of other ministers. But, as compared with the average New England town, it is evident that there had been a great lack of religious instruction. Now, however, arrangements were at once made with the Rev. Rowland Thacher to come and make his abode among them as their settled pastor.

His ordination took place December 26, 1739, when the treatment he was to receive from the people of his charge through his long pastorate was in no doubtful fashion foreshadowed. The master of ceremonies on that occasion was explicitly instructed to provide an entertainment "not according to the custom of Taverns Selling of Victuals but as shall be Judged Reasonable by the People." Perhaps this was no more than was to be expected of a community of frugal husbandmen and seafaring men who made their small gains by small savings. But it was not long before the salary which was agreed upon was in arrears, and thenceforward it was to be a continually recurring question in all town meetings, causing disagreeable discussions, how the money was to be raised. Mr. Bliss tells us that there was a colony law which declared that if a town neglected for six months to make suitable provision for its minister, the Court of Quarter Sessions shall order a competent allowance for him out of the estate and ability of the people. So the town was reminded of this, and warned to assemble, and "to Cum to Sum a Greement with Mr. Thacher that may Be to his Satisfaction as to ye Support that he ought to have from the town that thear may Be return maid to ye General Cort." In consequence of this warning, a committee was chosen to treat with him "consearning his Salery to know how much money would content him"; and the record says that "he came in town-meeting and thear said he Declined saying anything in that affare"—a decision which showed the honorable character of the man.

We shall not follow this story further. The experience which is here described is an experience which thousands of devoted ministers in the waste places of New England, and out of New England, have gone through manfully and without complaint; and it is to the self-sacrificing labors of such men we owe the prosperity of our churches to-day.

As it may assist those who live in happier times to understand more fully the nature of some of the discouragements referred to, we will transfer to our pages the description which is given of the closing days of Mr. Thacher's life, after more than thirty years of service, with his salary always in arrears. Mr. Bliss says: "This condition of things continuing year after year made it necessary, in October, 1771, for the selectmen to issue a warrant for a town meeting, in which the people were warned 'to agree with Mr. Thacher as he is Not Satisfied with ye Poorness of his former Payment what Sum he shall Have yearly and what time in ye year it shall be Paid him and Likewise wheather ye town will allow any Interest for what is behind Last years Sallery.' It was the old story told over again. His promised salary never promptly paid, he tilled the soil for a living as well as the souls of the parish, and found his only recreation in walks about the sandy Zion. For such an humble laborer there were no luxuries, and no vacations except to exchange for a Sunday with the minister of a neighboring town. So Parson Thacher lived in his parish, and died there in 1774. During his fatal illness the town meeting discussed his poor financial condition, and voted not to allow him anything 'for the year past more than his stated salery.' But he was soon to be free from the tyranny of town meetings. Twelve days after this vote he entered into his rest, leaving a 'good savor of godlyness behind him;' his wife having gone during the previous year. Seven months after he was dead the town chose a committee to settle with his eldest son 'relative to his Hon'd Father's Sallery the last year which was behind.' Whether the son ever received the arrears of money due to his honored father, no one now knoweth!"

This all seems very mean; and yet, in any proper estimate of the religious character of these people, it should be understood that, after all, religion filled a very large space in their minds. Everywhere in New England it was a common thing for families to go regularly ten or fifteen miles, on Sunday, "to meeting." Mr. Bliss tells us that in this very town "everybody went to the Sunday services, whether living near or far off." The pews in the meeting-house were always so full that some of the people had to bring chairs, which they placed wherever

there was an open space on the floor; and this was done to such an extent, and proved "such an annoyance to the pew-owners, the aristocracy of the place, that in 1757 they got an order from the town 'to clear the Alleys of the meeting House, of chairs and all other Incumbrances.' Mr. Bliss adds: "Whether the ousted worshipers stood during the services thereafter, or seated themselves on doorsteps and window sills, the records say not."

It should be understood also that, according to the laws of the province, "Sabbath time" began at the going-down of Saturday's sun. In some places it was held that it continued even through the evening of Sunday. Mr. Bliss says: "Everywhere, on Saturday evening, the usual labors of the household were suspended; and when Sunday dawned, preparations were made to go to the meeting-house. Then traveling and walking a-field—except 'in going to meeting' or in returning—was forbidden; and 'traveling' was not only passing from one town to another. It was, also, passing from house to house in the town."

Here also it may be mentioned that one of the most interesting and valuable chapters in the book has for its title "A Sunday morning in [June] 1771." We can only refer to this chapter, which presents what is really a beautiful picture of the aspect of things on the "Sabbath," in that old meeting-house during the services. No son of New England will fail to recognize the truthfulness of the description.

The explanation, then, of this mean treatment of Mr. Thacher, of which we have spoken, is not to be found in any want of interest in religion. The sermons that were heard, and the doctrines of the Christian faith, always formed one of the most frequent subjects of conversation. But there was then everywhere a strong reluctance to pay out money for any purpose whatever; and the reluctance which these rude and uneducated farmers manifested to pay out money for the support of their religious institutions was something perhaps unavoidable, and to be expected.

There was a still greater reluctance to comply with the colony law respecting education. The law, however, was im-

perative; so a warrant was in due time posted on the meeting house door, summoning a meeting "To know the Towns Mind, whether they are for having a School Master or Mistress." The people accordingly came together, and voted "to have a School Mistress for six months, and Jedediah Wing to be the man to provide her in each half of the Town." But Mr. Bliss is very doubtful whether Jedediah Wing did as he was directed, for he says that he can find no mention of any engagement of a schoolmistress in the town records.

The fact is that, in those days, in the opinion of the rural population of New England, schools were an unnecessary expense. Mr. Bliss says: "Oftentimes the formalities of town meetings, by which it was ordered 'to set up a school this year,' had no other intent than to show an outward compliance with the unpopular school laws of the province. Whenever the people could contrive a way by which the expenses of a school could be saved, there would be no school during that year. And when, on account of this neglect to observe the school laws, the town was presented by the grand jury of the county, it was customary to depute the most influential townsman to go and answer the presentment by such excuses as could be made."

A single quotation from the town records of 1748 sets the situation before us in a way that can be easily understood:

"Decon Elles says he had discerst mr William Rayment to know whether he would Sarve the town as a Scoolmaster and he Inclined to Sarve the town if the town will allow him Eightey Pounds a year old teener and ye modarater Put It to vote whether ye town would Imploy ye sd Raymond In the affare In Keeping Scool at the aforesd tearms and the vote Past In ye Negative.' On this rejection of the deacon's candidate, Samuel Savery was chosen 'to Bee the man to Git a Sutable man,' and to report 'what tarmes such a man would sarve the town for.' In January, 1749, he reported that William Rayment had reduced his price, and could be had 'to keep scool half a yeare for thirty-nine pounds old teener.' The moderator, so says the record, 'Put to vote whether the Town would have sd Rayment to keep scool on ye tarmes offerd or not and the Vote Past in the Negative.'"

Mr. Bliss also says: "The frugal mind of the colonial farmer

reckoned the schoolmaster as a day-laborer, and the desire was to hire him at as low a price, and to spread his labors over as large a territory, as possible. Each section of the town had his services during two or three months of the year, when the scholars were taught to read, to write, to cipher, and nothing more. He was paid sometimes in money and sometimes in merchandise, and his diet was 'thrown in.' There was no standard by which to test his skill as a teacher, but the one generally esteemed the most skillful was he whose price was the lowest, even if he were the chief of blockheads. His official seat was a great chair, behind a table or desk on which he made a display of birch rods. There he announced his laws whose penalties were floggings; and there he frowned upon the youngsters whose roguish pranks kept him so actively occupied that the flag bottom of the chair needed frequent repairing. 'Paid ten shillings,' says another Massachusetts town in 1747, 'for bottoming the Scoole Hous Cheer.' The school-house was usually a small unpainted building standing by the roadside like 'a ragged beggar sunning.' It contained a large fireplace, for whose fires the children's parents provided wood. Its square room was furnished with rough benches, made smoother and glossier every year by the friction of the woolen frocks and leathern breeches of restless pupils to whom schooling was a bore."

We will now turn to the social life of the times, for there is no part of the book more full or satisfactory than what is said on this subject. Mr. Bliss tells us that, during the fifty years that preceded the Revolution, "the farmhouses were low, rectangular, built around a large square central chimney. Beneath them were spacious cellars for the storage of various products of the farm and other household supplies, with which the thrifty farmer was abundantly provided. Near, or connected with the dwellings were barns, cart-sheds, corn-cribs, and wood-piles. A picket fence, or a rough stone wall, separated the highway from the front door, and a straight path divided the turf between."

"The well-to-do farmer kept a horse and shay, but it was only for hire and to carry the women folks to meeting. To

him time was not money, and if he must go to a neighboring town he preferred to walk the distance rather than devote the establishment to his own use for the journey, except on unusual occasions. Farming tools were wrought on the anvil of the village blacksmith, and so were the plowshare and the iron straps binding it to the mold-board. Clothing material was made on the farms. On the kitchen hearth stood dye tubs in which fleeces were colored red and blue. The industrious wife and her daughters were skilled in carding the wool, spinning it into yarns, and weaving the yarns into cloths, which, after passing through the fulling-mill, were made into clothing for the family. They also made fine linen from flax grown in their own fields. The shoes of the family were also a home product. Hides sent to a tannery remained in the vats a year, the tanner taking one half of them for his work; when the leather was sent to the house, a shoemaker was summoned, who made and repaired for every member of the family shoes enough to last a year, taking in payment for his labor various products of the farm."

"In those days families stayed at home; and children were taught to work as soon as they were taught anything. Often they grew to be men and women before they had crossed the boundaries of the town. Sometimes, however, a daughter found a husband in a neighboring town, or a son hankered after the sea, and trudged afoot to New Bedford to join a whaling ship and pursue his sea-dreams beyond Cape Horn."

Intemperate drinking was at this time not an unusual thing. "Ministers, as well as parishioners, drank rum moderately, or otherwise. At the stores it was sold for two shillings and three pence the gallon, and a decanter of it was at hand in the living-room of every dwelling-house. At an ordination, a wedding, a funeral, a house-raising, a launching, a husking, it was freely offered. If two men went to the salt meadows to mow, or into the woods to fell trees, they carried a pint of rum as a matter of course. Although farm laborers worked from sunrise to sunset, if a job was to be done after the day's work was over, a sufficient compensation to the men was an invitation to 'Come in and take a grog!' During the haying season it was a custom of the farmer to go to the meadows at

eleven o'clock in the forenoon and at four o'clock in the afternoon, carrying a tumbler and a decanter of rum for the refreshment of his laborers."

"Annually, in April, the governor's fast-day was observed by going to the meeting-house to listen to a long sermon; and in November Thanksgiving day was observed by a similar service, followed by the cheer of an ample dinner at home, for which preparations had been going on for a long time. But Easter and Christmas were unknown. In the opinion of fathers and mothers, any special observance of Christmas day would have been considered a deference to the Pope of Rome."

As for what may be called the more general social life, Mr. Bliss says: "There were frolicsome assemblies for husking corn and paring apples; there were afternoon quilting-bees, and evenings enlivened by romping games, such as blindman's-buff and spin-the-platter. The sports and pastimes of these evening parties not unfrequently bordered on rudeness; the youthful merrymakers running a gauntlet, dashing through files of their companions who, with uplifted hands and waving arms, cut off the progress of the willing victim, while all sang:

'The needle's eye that doth supply
The thread that runs so true,
It hath caught many a fair young heart,
And now it hath caught you.'

Others, joining hands and wildly swinging around in giddy rings, chanted 'Green grow the rushes, O;' all the measures of the chant being zestfully marked, and interspersed with kisses. It was a common custom to invite neighbors or kindred "to spend the day," the guests arriving at nine o'clock; women prepared for knitting and needlework, the elder men prepared to talk about wool, cattle, and crops. At noon a bountiful dinner was served for them, the great oven having been fired the day before, and at five o'clock in the afternoon the supper-table was spread with all the varieties of cake, pastry, and sweetmeat for which the hostess was noted. In winter evenings there were sleighing parties that pulled up at the tavern to drink mulled wine; there were voluntary singing clubs; there were neighborhood gatherings of young people, who, seated in a semicircle around the large glowing fireplace, passed the hours

in telling fortunes, drinking cider, cracking nuts, and eating apples, whose peels, pared off without a break, were twirled around the parer's head, and, falling on the floor, were supposed to form the initial letter of somebody's husband that was to be. A joyful event was the arrival of a son returned from a whaling voyage, his sea-chest stored with shells and curiosities from the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and perhaps bringing a piece of China crape or India muslin for his sister's wedding-dress. Weddings were important events in the social life of the town. Special journeys were made to Boston to buy the outfit, and brides were often arrayed in gowns of such richness that those which have been preserved to the present day are held as heirlooms of great value. Although the church looked upon dancing with disfavor, there were balls at the tavern occasionally, where young beaux prided themselves on the dexterity with which they "cut the pigeon wing," and whirled through the measures of "money-musk" and Sir Roger de Coverley. At evening parties, too, the guests were accustomed to join hands with the hosts in a 'dance around the chimney,' passing from room to room, a merry go-round of old and young. Going to meeting on Sunday morning was also a social enjoyment. It was like going to a country-side gathering of friends and neighbors. The meeting-house door was the Sunday newspaper containing, as in former times, all kinds of announcements interesting to the congregation; and the noon-time intermission furnished the great opportunity when women could see each other in their new bonnets and 'dandy-gray russets,' and could humanize their minds by an unlimited range over the fields of gossip."

One more important topic yet remains. We refer to what was done by the people of the town during the great struggle of the Revolution. Here again, the account which is given is not without a real value to the student of American history. The Revolution cannot be understood without a proper appreciation of the difficulties with which it had to contend, and one of the greatest of these was the fact that, at the beginning of the war, there was in many parts of the country a feeling of devoted loyalty to the British king, which in many

places remained to the end unshaken. Nowhere, perhaps, was this loyalty more conspicuous than in the old Plymouth colony. James Warren, the originator of the "Committee of Correspondence," declared at this time to Samuel Adams that "the Plymouth Colony towns could not be awakened except by a power that would awaken the dead." How could it be expected that it would be otherwise? They were a people who had never manifested any special enterprise of any kind whatever. There were no persons among them of any great mark. The larger part of the population consisted of industrious and contented farmers who lived remote from the struggles of politics, and had not troubled themselves in the least about the plans of the Boston "Committee," or their theory of national rights. Another part of the population consisted of seafaring men, who were better acquainted with the Pacific Ocean, and cared more for its fisheries, than they did for the other towns of Massachusetts. This very town, also, had paid annually, for many years, the province taxes without a murmur, and had never felt it to be of any importance to avail themselves of their right to send a representative to the legislature. So they had, all along, been practically assenting to the principle of taxation without representation. The import tax on tea had been reduced from twelve pence to three pence, the pound; and three pence a pound was no inducement to these loyal farmers to engage in a war with Great Britain for the benefit—as they regarded it—of the Boston importers and tradesmen. Mr. Bliss says: "They may have heard of the Boston port bill, an act of Parliament to suspend the foreign and coast-wise trade of Boston, as a punishment of the tea-chest riot; but they made no sign. Gifts of cattle, fish, firewood, pork, clothing, butter, flour, grain, vegetables, and money were sent to Boston from many towns to relieve the distress under the port bill. But the records show that nothing was sent from this town? In 1768, ninety-six towns of Massachusetts had sent delegates to a convention "called to protest against the revenue acts, taxing the colonies, quartering troops upon the people, and other perils, threatening their liberties." It does not appear that the farmers of Buzzard's Bay took any part in it whatever. Then came the year 1775; and they were invited

to send a delegate to the Provincial Congress. But, at a town meeting regularly warned, they voted "Not to Send A man to the Provincial Congress." Quick upon this came those stirring times of which no one can read to day without a quickening of the pulse. The news of the battle of Lexington reached Buzzard's Bay, by a rider from Boston, on the 20th of April. In scores of other communities of farmers, as plain as these, when the same tidings reached them, men everywhere left their oxen in the furrow, and with their trusty muskets in their hands hastened to join their neighbors, and in less than twenty-four hours were on the march to take their part in the battle of Bunker Hill. Mr. Bliss says: "When this town met four days after, no allusion to the battle was made, and the meeting was adjourned for five months, with as little concern as to the magnitude of the current events, as if they involved no issues greater than those which had interested town meetings in previous years." It should be stated, however, to the credit of the townspeople, that although the town as such showed throughout the war an utter indifference to the struggle that was going on, individuals were in full sympathy with the patriotic cause. On the receipt of the news from Lexington a company of volunteers started for Boston, and at least a hundred men fought in the armies of the Revolution. But nothing appears on the town records which shows the least sympathy with the cause of national independence. Mr. Bliss says: "Town meetings were held as usual during all those years, and the Town's Mind was expressed in regard to sheep, foxes, hogs, alewives, highways, the minister, the schoolmaster, the meeting-house, the rates, the paupers, as in preceding years," but not one word further, until—our readers will hardly repress a smile as they read—until some years after the war was over, when on Feb. 11, 1788, a vote was passed in town-meeting, ordering its British colors to be sold—when doubtless the proceeds were duly placed in the town treasury.

We stated at the outset of our remarks that the story which this book gives of the way in which a frontier New England town grew up in the old colonial times is valuable for the reason that it shows how it was that New England institutions

had their origin, and what was the nature of the social life which was developed. The book is even more valuable for the illustrations which it gives of the way that the New England character grew up.

There is, we believe, no question anywhere that New Englanders have a character as marked as that of any people on the face of the earth. It may be freely admitted, also, that while they have excellencies of character, they have defects as well. We speak now more specially of the New England character down to the time of the civil war, or at least down to the time of that immense immigration from every nationality under the heavens, which has changed that character somewhat. The New England institutions and the New England character have stamped themselves on the whole nation, in a way that can never be effaced. The national constitution, the State constitutions, the Supreme Court of the nation, all the institutions, educational, religious, philanthropic, political, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, have been in important respects shaped or modified by them, for good or for ill. There is even no organization which has been brought to this country by any body of foreign immigrants that has not felt their influence. Roman Catholicism itself is to-day another thing in the United States from what it is in Ireland, or France, or Italy, and must be forever—Roman Catholics themselves being the judges. Naturally New England has been and is hated—and with a will—by those who do not sympathize with its ideas. But there they are, and they can be read of all men. This book, as we have said, does not exhibit the best of these characteristics, and we value it for the very reason that it does not. We can the better see how it was that what is defective and unlovely grew up; and—we add in the true New England spirit—we can the better see how that which is defective and unlovely can be improved in the future.

Of this third subject—the way in which the New England character was developed—we had intended to speak at length in the present Article. It is the most important and most interesting of all the subjects mentioned. But the space at our command has already been filled, and we must accordingly defer what we have to say to some future number of the Review.

There is, however, a single remark which we cannot forbear to add. Enough has been already said to make it very clear that whatever of good has been accomplished in New England has been accomplished in the face of constant and never-ceasing opposition. The successes upon which New Englanders may congratulate themselves have not been easily won. All along from the beginning, in each succeeding generation, there have been even descendants of the Puritans who did not inherit their principles, and who did not manifest any of their spirit. Then, in addition, it is to be remembered that there have always been in New England a large number of people who were not descendants of the Puritans. We have no space here to go into particulars. But we have already stated that in Plymouth itself there were not a few who were mere adventurers. Then, in close proximity, at Weymouth, and within three years of being as old as Plymouth, was the settlement of the boasting followers of Weston. These men, after receiving the generous hospitalities of the Pilgrim Fathers, left for their new home, contemptuously declaring that they "should take another course, and not fall into such a condition as those simple people were come to." Dr. Leonard Bacon says:* "No thought had they of self-sacrifice for Christ's sake—no dream of a refuge which they, in that wilderness, were to make for truth and purity, persecuted in the old world—no inspiration even from household affections and anxieties. They—practical men, amply provided for and unincumbered—were sure to prosper." The pious Governor Bradford, the historian of Plymouth, making the record of their disastrous failure, adds: "A man's way is not in his own power. God can make the weak to stand. Let him also that standeth take heed lest he fall." Then, too, almost within sight of the hills where the Boston colonists were to establish themselves, was Mount Wollaston, which Morton renamed "Merry Mount," and where as a veritable Lord of Misrule he reigned over the bacchanalian orgies of his motley crew of desperadoes. In all the great crises of New England history—political, religious, educational, philanthropic—there have been from the very first those who were the successors—spiritual if not by natural generation—of those men, who have everywhere

* *Genesis of the New England Churches*, p. 378.

and always stood in the way of progress, and made their influence felt for evil. Happily, the better elements of New England society have always succeeded in carrying through the measures which were for the highest interests of the country, and then, every one and everything has been forced to conform to the new state of things. We have seen how it was in the town at the head of Buzzard's Bay. No public manifestation of sympathy with the war for Independence was made there. But when the struggle was crowned with success, the result was accepted, and ever since, nowhere probably has a more loyal spirit been displayed.

This hopeful and encouraging fact to which we allude may be observed not only in our New England experience, but in our whole American history. When an important public measure has once been carried through—even if, to use a homely expression, it has “just nicked through”—it has not only been quietly acquiesced in by those who have opposed it, but often the children and the descendants of those very men have been its warmest supporters.

That accomplished scholar, Hon. Joseph B. Walker—in his recent history of the New Hampshire Federal Convention of 1788, which ratified the present national constitution—states that one of the ablest and most patriotic of the delegates was so impressed by the fears which his constituents entertained and expressed, lest such a strong central government as it was proposed to create, might endanger the rights of the individual States, that at last, finding all opposition hopeless, he absented himself from the Convention when the final vote was to be taken. The adhesion of New Hampshire, as the “ninth State”—according to the provisions of the constitution—secured its adoption; and now it is Daniel Webster, the son of that very delegate, who will be known in all time to come as the great “Defender and Expounder” of the Constitution to which his father hesitated to give his adhesion.

There is a story—familiar to every one—of an orator at a Fourth-of-July celebration in New Jersey, who was eloquently describing the victories of Washington at Trenton and Princeton, when his eye fell on the one surviving “revolutionary soldier” to whom had been assigned a seat by his side on the

platform. In a moment of sudden inspiration, the orator called upon the aged man to rise and give his testimony to the worth of the great commander under whom he had served. The veteran slowly rose to his feet, and with diffidence, and in a low voice, which was yet distinctly heard by all the vast assembly, stammered forth the words, "Me Hessian!"

It is one of the things about our American institutions which affords a bright omen for the future, that they have shown themselves capable of absorbing every element however heterogeneous, and of moulding the descendants of even the "rude and profane" followers of Weston at Weymouth, the descendants of the drunken revellers at "Merry Mount," the descendants of Hessians, and of all the multitude of "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia" who have come among us—and of making them over into law abiding American citizens.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

ARTICLE II.—THE WHY OF POVERTY.

THE most troublesome element of the social problem on its economic side is the element of poverty. All other questions at the present time seem to radiate towards this as their common centre. Every scheme for reform seems to have this for its ultimate end, to relieve poverty. Poverty makes men restless, it makes them envious, it makes them desperate. And there is poverty in our land, hard, grinding poverty, notwithstanding the fact that the nation as a whole is growing richer at the rate of more than a billion dollars annually. Periodically there sweeps over the country a wave of hard times and thousands of struggling workers are almost swallowed up in its resistless flood. Even during what we call easy times there are many who must battle night and day to keep the wolf from the door. Multitudes of families know nothing of luxury, and not a few are strangers to even the comforts and decencies of life. Children are reared amid squalor and filth unfit even for animals. Women wear out their lives toiling for a mere pittance. Hungry ones long in vain for nourishing food; and weary ones are spurred on to their toil by the knowledge that rest means starvation.

These weary ones look across the way and see their neighbors living in plenty, who apparently toil no harder than they. The sight fills them with discontent, for they feel sure that something is wrong with the world in which they live. Wealth is certainly very unequally distributed. The fact is patent to all, and the question naturally arises, what is the cause of this inequality? Who is responsible for the fact that one man has enough and to spare while his brother man perishes with hunger? Is it the fault of our existing social system, or of wicked men, or of an unequal Providence?

This is a vital question. It strikes at the tap root of the social problem in its broadest outlook. In the cause of an evil lies the secret of its cure. Therefore the first step towards the cure of poverty must be the discovery of the causes of poverty.

Most men are ready to lay the blame for every evil upon others whether they have any sufficient reason to do so or not. The poor are apt to say that their condition is the result of circumstances. They accuse their wealthier neighbors of extortion and dishonesty. The writings and speeches of socialists abound in denunciations of all who have succeeded in accumulating large fortunes. Without discrimination they are branded as robbers of the poor, oppressors of the weak, enemies of honest toil; and the poor are led to believe that the property of every rich man represents a certain amount of wealth stolen directly from them. On the other hand, how often we hear the wealthy and comfortable ones speaking contemptuously of the poor as the miserable and pitiable victims of their own ignorance or lack of thrift. They say that all who suffer are themselves to blame. They are idle, careless, improvident, immoral, and much more of the same sort.

Such sweeping denunciations on either side are unjust, and most frequently they are the utterance of those who know but little as to the actual truth involved. Worse than all, they do not help in the slightest degree to relieve existing difficulties or to prepare the way for a better state of things in the future. Quite the contrary. They intensify all feelings of hostility and drive men farther apart than ever, thus causing an unreasonable and useless delay in the solution of the social problem.

In all such assertions there is a shadow of truth, and it is this minute element of truth that gives them power for evil. There are undoubtedly many dishonest men among the wealthy. But there are also many dishonest poor men. If some of the poor are thriftless, the rich are not without their idlers. Wealth is not proof positive of dishonesty any more than poverty is incontrovertible evidence of a lack of thrift and industry. Furthermore, if a man is poor because he has been wronged, it does not follow by any manner of necessity that he has been wronged by a rich man. Whenever, therefore, a tale of suffering and wrong comes to us, we cannot jump at once to a conclusion regarding the cause. We must investigate the matter carefully in all its bearings, before we can pronounce judgment that shall have any weight. We must first inquire who has been wronged. We must find out to what extent he has been

wronged. Then we must ask who has wronged him. Is he really wronged at all? Or is he simply unfortunate? Has he been wronged by others or by himself? Is his unhappy condition the result of his own ignorance, selfishness, obstinacy? Or has he been the helpless victim of a partial Providence or an unequal system of distribution? That a person is wronged implies injustice on the part of someone. That which is wrong when suffered cannot be right when committed. It may be himself, or it may be another that has done the wrong. Wherever the wrong lies, we must trace it and remove it. Otherwise we may not hope to remove its results.

As we study the condition of American society one fact impresses itself upon us almost immediately, namely, that the poor of our land do not belong to any particular class, nor can they be said to form a distinct class of themselves. This fact should be emphasized. Many associate poverty with toil, and talk about "poor working people." Others speak of the "poor classes" and the "wealthy classes," as though there were some distinct line drawn between them. Now, however this may be in other lands, it is not so in our own America. Our poor are not a separate class, nor are they all working people. Many of the hardest workers in the land are among the so-called wealthy classes. The thousands of poor people in our great cities and elsewhere are so many distinct and wholly unrelated units. They are not connected by ties of class or heredity. The poor man of to-day is the son of yesterday's millionaire, and his son will probably be the capitalist of to-morrow. The rotation from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves in three generations is no myth, but a common occurrence in American society. Furthermore, the man who now complains of poverty but a few years ago stood side by side with his rich neighbor in school, in the work-shop, or in the counting-house. They began life at the same point, but their paths have diverged. No candid student can justly connect poverty and labor as though there were some natural relation between the two.

To connect poverty with progress as though the latter were cause and the former effect is equally unjust. The assumption that poverty increases as a consequence of the material progress of society utterly false. The countries of the Old World have

made great material progress during the past few centuries and poverty *has not increased*. On the contrary the most carefully prepared statistics prove that poverty and pauperism have decreased. In England the number of paupers to-day is less than half as great in proportion to the entire population of the country as it was in the seventeenth century. Even the casual reader of history cannot be ignorant of the fact that in England and France the condition of the poorer people has been constantly improving for two hundred years. In our own land the condition of things is vastly better than in any country of Europe. We must take into account the enormous increase in our population during the present century, and it would be difficult to prove that the proportion of poverty is any greater than in the early days of our national existence. One thing is certain, the average earnings of laboring men are rapidly increasing, and every year the manual laborers are securing a larger share of the profits of production.

The writer of "Progress and Poverty" brings before us, as an illustration, the growth of a new State like California, and says that in the early days of its history, before the resources of the State began to be developed, there was no appreciable poverty within her borders; but with the building of railroads and the development of the wonderful resources of the State poverty appears. Therefore, *the material progress of the State is the cause of the poverty of some of its inhabitants*.

Such a conclusion, though widely accepted, is a most palpable *non sequitur*. To use a philosophical phrase, it is "mistaking antecedent coincidence for cause." As well might we say that because Mr. Jones died on the very day when Mr. Smith was married, therefore Mr. Smith's marriage was the cause of Mr. Jones' death. Before the resources of California were developed and railroads built, only men of energy or of some wealth could obtain a settlement in the State; but with social development and improved facilities for travel multitudes have flocked in, poor men as well as rich, the idle as well as the industrious, and they have brought with them all the causes of poverty. The gravest charge that we can make against the material progress of the State is that it has not sufficed in every case to neutralize the real causes of poverty.

The same may be said of the country at large. Poverty exists in spite of increasing wealth. No reasonable man can ask the question, Why does an increasing prosperity tend to make certain classes of the people poorer? Such a question is stultified by facts. The question which we must ask, is—*Why does not our marvelous national prosperity preclude the possibility of any individual cases of poverty?*

In asking this question we take one thing for granted. The nation as a whole is growing richer. The poverty which causes so much trouble and complaint is individual. In other words, many individuals in the land do not share in the constantly increasing national wealth. These facts are universally acknowledged, although their significance is often misunderstood. Mr. George, in all his works, bears testimony to the material prosperity of our country, and the most radical socialistic writers do the same. In fact this is the chief source of their grievance. If society in general were growing poorer then there would be no cause for complaint or even for surprise that individuals were poor. But poverty is not national; nor are all men growing poorer. The charge is made that while one portion of society is daily growing poorer, others are growing proportionately richer day by day. It is asserted that the benefits of our increasing wealth are shared only by a part of the people, and that those who need it most not only fail to obtain any share of it but are actually losing that which they already possess. The truth of such a statement has been questioned, however, and the most thorough students of social economy assure us that the poor are in point of fact the greatest gainers by the country's prosperity. But which position soever is the true one, all are agreed on the one point, that poverty is individual.

In attempting to discover and to explain the causes of poverty modern socialists of the popular type ignore this fact. They attribute poverty to an imperfect system of social organization and to the unequal division of the profits of labor. Now, if these were really the chief causes of poverty, we should find the ranks of the poor recruited constantly from particular classes. The demand for reform in any national system is always based on the assertion that it militates against particular classes in the community. Those who argue in favor of the "single land

tax" say that the present system works to impoverish all who do not own land. Advocates of protection and of free trade alike claim that their ideals will be a financial blessing to "working men." And so with other proposed changes: they deal with men in classes. Since, therefore, poverty does not affect classes of men, but is wholly individual, we must seek for its causes in something wholly independent of our social organization. In short, we must seek for individual causes.

No one doubts that our social organization can be improved. Many are willing to acknowledge that there is a certain plausibility, to say the least, in the theory of the public ownership of land, and the single tax doctrine. To some the doctrine of free trade is also very acceptable. In many ways it is clearly possible to bring about a more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry than is secured by existing laws and institutions. We can easily see, however, that all such changes must be very general in their results. They will, when perfect, secure fairness to all the various classes of society, but they can neither prevent nor cure individual poverty. Even the absolutely equal division of the aggregate wealth of society could not accomplish that result except for a brief moment. W. H. Vanderbilt's enormous income, divided amongst his employees would not have added a hundred dollars each to their annual incomes. Neither would the most equitable adjustment of taxes coupled with the fairest division of profits increase the average income of our citizens to any great degree. By all means let us have these reforms, so far as they are just and right; but let us not expect too much from them. We may put them all in practice and yet find that poverty has not been cured or appreciably diminished.

During a period of excessively hot weather the entire population of a city may feel physically disordered. In addition to this general depression some individuals may have contracted distinct diseases through contagion or from some other cause. With a return of cooler weather the general tone of public health will be improved. Doubtless all will be somewhat better, but the sick ones will not be cured without special treatment and medicine suited to each disease. In like manner, while we may expect a general improvement in the conditions

of society to result from improved social organization, we may hope to cure individual cases of poverty only by applying remedies that are as specific as the disease.

That there are specific or individual causes of poverty in our land, and that they are many in number and grievous in their effects, no one will deny. They are apparent even to the dullest minds. Their comparative importance and extent are, however, often underestimated. They are considered of trifling significance in comparison with political systems and inequalities in the general organization of society. Popular reformers for the most part ignore these plain, common-place facts, and go soaring off into the upper regions of theory, where they can avail themselves of the enchanting power which distance always lends to the view. Yet these prosaic facts are not so trifling and unimportant as many would have us believe. On the contrary they constitute a force sufficient to vitiate whatever results we may obtain from the best regulated system of social organization.

We need mention only a few of the more prominent among these disturbing forces. First among them is the liquor traffic, the annual amount of which is estimated at from seven to nine hundred million dollars. To this must be added an immense sum for indirect expense caused by the traffic, if we would measure the full power of the evil. Now the effect of this traffic upon the general wealth of the nation is not felt in any marked degree, although it diverts into useless and harmful channels a vast amount of energy that would otherwise be employed in valuable production. Neither does it perceptibly affect the original distribution of wealth among the various classes and individuals of society. It does, however, operate after the original distribution of the national wealth to entirely destroy the effect of that distribution, by transferring money from one individual to another without bringing any equivalent return. Thus the wealth of many individuals is diverted from its proper use and is practically consumed.

The same is true of the tobacco traffic. In this case the amount of wealth transferred from one part of the community to another is about six hundred millions. This is a heavy tax and one that is levied not on any particular class, but upon those individuals alone who willingly pay tribute to the tyrant.

The enormous expense attendant upon strikes and other social disturbances, which has of late amounted to an average of ten million dollars a year, is another force which draws the wages out of the pockets of individuals, leaving them impoverished while their neighbors grow rich.

A still greater amount wasted in useless and expensive amusements will account for the poverty of others who have received their fair share in the first distribution. And others scatter their earnings in general extravagance.

Another force operating in perfect harmony with those already mentioned is speculation. In the various exchanges and stock markets of our land, more than five hundred million dollars change hands every year, representing loss to one side and gain to the other in each transaction. Closely akin to the work done in these centres is that of the lotteries and gambling dens which amounts to one or two hundred millions annually.

We say, that America is growing richer at the rate of more than a billion dollars every year, and we imagine that this means a great deal if we could only insure its equitable distribution. But the few items above mentioned, give a total of about two billion dollars, a sum nearly double the entire increase of wealth throughout the country. Of what avail therefore is the utmost care in the original distribution of this wealth, when it is to be frustrated by such overwhelming forces of disturbance after the distribution has been effected?

We may summarize the principal causes of poverty among Americans in two words, *waste* and *speculation*.

Waste takes place in three ways: 1. The absolute destruction of wealth, as in the case of war, riots, and the like. 2. The exchange of useful for useless commodities, illustrated in the liquor and tobacco traffic; and 3. The expenditure of labor which is unproductive, which is done by all manufacturers of useless commodities and all speculators.

Speculation signifies any form of trade in which profits are secured by artificial means, and without making any return in the form of productive labor.

Either of these causes would appear to be sufficient of itself to account for all the poverty in America, and when both causes are present and vigorously active, poverty should not be

a matter of surprise to anyone. So long as these two forces continue to work unrestrained, we may increase our national wealth ten-fold, yes, a hundred-fold, and we may readjust our social system never so carefully, and there would still be poverty, as hard and as bitter as at present. The man who has a million dollars and throws it away, is just as poor as the man who had only ten cents and lost it. The lottery with a large capital has as many blanks as a smaller one, and they are just as blank.

It is neither true economy nor Christian charity to help those who can help themselves. He is the truest friend to one in need, who teaches him how he may supply his own needs. A man who is poor and suffering likes to be told that someone else is to blame for his unhappy condition, that he would be all right, if his neighbors would deal justly with him, or if society were established on a right basis. But the most effective way to relieve his suffering is to show him that its cause and cure lie in his own hands. This is undeniably true of the burdened thousands in our land. All the poverty that results from causes other than the two which I have named, is a mere nothing. If the poor people of America would with one heart and voice declare against these personal habits and practices of evil, if they would take a firm stand against every form of waste and every custom or institution that fosters useless expenditure, poverty and suffering would disappear as if by magic. Then the weakest might laugh in the face of oppression and live in comfort despite all the intrigues of their fellow-men. If we could but proclaim a determined warfare of labor against waste and speculation, we should soon cease to hear of any strife between labor and capital.

GEORGE H. HUBBARD.

ARTICLE III.—EUPHUISM IN LITERATURE AND STYLE.

THE subject now before us affords us a striking example of one of those topics of literary interest concerning which every student of the English mind is presumed to have an opinion, and, yet, about which, as a matter of fact, very few of our scholars have an intelligent idea. It is a word that loosely passes from lip to lip, and circle to circle. We take it for granted that we fully understand it and are not aware of our ignorance of it until called upon to define it. As to its origin, the occasion of its appearing just as it did, its true characteristics and its relations to all later literature, English and Continental, these are questions, as yet, practically unanswered. As in the case of authors in general, judgment must be based upon their careful study, so, to understand what Euphuism is, it must itself be studied. As we examine the works illustrating it, we shall be greatly surprised at the vast amount of salutary instruction and eloquent passages which they contain. To the cursory reader of our literature, and, very naturally, to the great majority of readers, Euphuism has always meant the veriest bombast—a style so overwrought and burdened with unnatural conceits, that it deserves no toleration at the hands of the intelligent student. However this may be, it is a question that deserves careful examination. Whatever the attitude of the common or educated mind may be toward it, it is binding upon literary men to subject it to a searching criticism and assume respecting it a safe and tenable position. In addition to this, we shall find it a subject fraught with no little interest in its wide relations to universal letters.

In order to reach such a result, it will be our purpose, first of all, to ascertain its origin and nature as represented in the writings of Lyly himself. Subsequently, we may note its appearance in earlier and later English literature, as well as on the Continent, and the tendency existing in modern times to a similar mode of literary expression.

(1) Of Lyly himself—author of *Euphues*—it is sufficient to

say, that his life extended from about the middle of the sixteenth century to the opening of the seventeenth. It thus covered that remarkable period of English literature and government included in the reign of Elizabeth. We find him in Oxford, in 1571, "always averse to the crabbed studies of logic and philosophy and naturally bent to the pleasant paths of poesie." In 1578, he wrote *The Anatomy of Wit*, the first part of his *Euphuës*, and, a year or two later, the concluding portion—*Euphuës and his England*. According to the testimony of Collier, he had written, before the year 1589, his nine dramatic pieces. Of this dramatic portion of the writings of Lyly, of which it is important to state that seven-ninths of it was written in prose, it must here suffice us to remark, that while partaking, in the main, of the general tendency of the time to a comparatively low standard of comic representation, it, yet, exalts itself at frequent intervals to something of the dramatic dignity of a Marlowe and a Jonson. If, in his *Sappho and Bombie*, we mark the rudeness of the clown, we note, as well, the traces of a classical mind, in the pages of *Midas* and *Endymion*. Of his *Alexander* and *Campaspe* Hazlitt remarks, with some degree of critical pride, that "it is full of sweetness and point, of Attic salt and the honey of Hymettus." He expresses his great surprise at that opinion which has severely condemned the style of such an author to the ridicule of the schools. Such a surprise may again accost us as we pursue the examination of the *Euphuës* of Lyly—a book concerning which the ablest modern historian of our letters hesitates not to affirm that "a fair knowledge of its contents is inseparable from a full understanding of the best English literature." The book as a unit is made up of two separate parts. The first part—*The Anatomy of Wit*—constitutes, in an important sense, the entire work, while the second portion—*Euphuës and his England*, is intended, apparently, to render the instructions of the first somewhat more palatable to the prevalent tastes of the court. The hero of the narrative is an affluent youth of Athens leaving his native city in great freedom of spirit, to seek in foreign travel the pleasure which was not to be found at home. Arriving at Naples, he entered at once into all the excesses of that dissolute centre. When warned, in a spirit of kindness,

by the aged Eubulus—"to fear and love and serve his God," he laughed to scorn the impertinence of the old man, taking it upon him to give suggestions to an Athenian youth. He now came in contact with a more congenial comrade in the person of Philautus, a resident of Naples. Here begins the common history of both Euphues and Philautus as they together ply their efforts for the affections of Lucilla, daughter of Don Ferardo. The result was, that after a vast amount of strategy and intrigue possible only to desperate lovers, and after an endless display of what Lyly calls—"fine phrases, smooth quips, merry taunts, jesting without meane and mirth without measure" in the parlors of the Neapolitan governor, the designs of each of the supplicants were frustrated by the admittance of a third character in the person of Curio. It is, thus, not surprising that in the presence of such betrayal, the indignation of the devoted Euphues should have reached its limit as he declared to Lucilla in his final interview "Farewell Lucilla, the most inconstant that ever was nursed in Naples, farewell Naples, the most accursed town in Italy, and women all, farewell." Stung to the quick in conscience that he had rejected the advice of maturer years and had squandered the vigor of his youth in the frivolities of the drawing room, he resolved henceforth to redeem his character in the eye of his own self respect and to be the useful and good man rather than the anxious wooer. The disappointed lovers then agreed to separate and in the correspondence consequent upon it, we have some of the best and most characteristic portions of the mind of the author, the special feature of it all being, a deep abhorrence of the sins of the past and an honest purpose to make amends. We may call particular attention, in this respect, to the epistle entitled—Euphues and his Ephœbus—a treatise on the education of youth worthy of Roger Ascham or Robert Walpole. "The chiefest way to learning," he says, in true Socratic manner, "is that there be a mutual love and fervent desire between the teacher and him that is taught." In his ardent praise of goodness, he eloquently declares, "Beauty we prefer above all and yet it fadeth; health is that which all desire and yet it is subject to disease; strength is to be wished for and, yet, herein the very beasts excel us. It is virtue that maketh gentlemen; that

maketh the poor, rich; the base born, noble; the subject, a sovereign and the deformed, beautiful, which even with years waxeth ever young and when all things are cut away with the sickle of time, flourisheth so high that time cannot reach it." We find the author especially grieved by the evident looseness of the Grecian life among the students and people of Athens. There are not, in the pages of modern prose, passages freighted with more pathos and genuine power than some of these outbursts and protests against the reigning corruption. "Ah, Gentlemen," says Euphuus, "what is to be looked for, nay, what is not to be feared, when the temple of Vesta, where virgins should live, is like the stews fraught with strumpets; when the universities of Christendom which should be the eyes, the leaven, the seasoning of the world, have lost their savor by impiety. Is it not become a byword among the common people that they had rather send their children to the gallows than to the university where they become not only spendthrifts of their money but bankrupts in good manners!" "Our life is long" he adds, "if we know how to use it." As he draws near the close of this epistle, his mind is absorbed in the religious aspects of his life, and it is in his suggestions to Euphœbus on this matter that we find some of the best specimens of English prose. "Is Aristotle more dear to thee with his books," he asks, "than Christ with his blood? What comfort canst thou finde in Philosophy for thy guiltie conscience? What hope of the resurrection? What glad tidings of the Gospel? Farewell therefore, the fine and filed phrases of Cicero, the pleasant Eligues of Ovid. Farewell, Rhethoricke; farewell, Philosophie; farewell, all learning which is not sprung from the bowells of the Holy Bible!" Then follows, in his letter to Athens, an exposition of the Christian faith worthy of an Erasmus. In the second division of the volume, he passes most naturally from these more exalted themes to the practical interest of the court and the country. As to hasty matrimony, he argues, that it is "better to have one plough going than two cradles, and more profit to have a barn filled than a bed." As to the best mode of traveling, he suggests "so to travel as altho y^e purse be weakened, y^e mind may be strengthened," and always to prefer "godliness to gold."

How such selections as these impress the mind of the casual reader we know not, but as for ourselves, the more we read them, the less willing are we to endorse modern criticism as to them. If such be in general the character of the work called *Euphuus*, what is to be said of Euphuism? How is it to be defined?

We notice, first of all, a great excess of ornament, allusion and unnatural composition drawn from sources bordering too closely upon the fabulous and mythological. This was the special charge made against Lyly by Drayton in his defense of Sidney, who, as he says, redeemed our tongue from such

"Talking of stones, stars, plants, fishes, flies,
Playing with words and idle similes."

The large amount of antithesis, so condensed as to be abrupt, is, perhaps, the most prominent error, lending to the style the appearance of affectation and impairing the natural variety of the sentiment.

This is Euphuism and the whole of it. It is, thus, evident that, while the faults of the style are such as to exclude it, as a whole, from becoming a safe example for English students, there is, yet, quite enough of literary excellence in it to commend it to our regard. If the sentences of Lyly are far too curt and crisp, many of the periods of Hooker, of Bacon and of Milton are far too long. Each is an error and it is scarcely competent to us to assert which is the greater. It is this fact which calls for the exercise of 'critical candor and personal charity.' Far be it from us to place *Euphuus* or the drama of Lyly in the hands of the student as we would the writings of our classic authors. We simply contend that Lyly has his merits and to a far higher degree than common criticism would allow. It will not do for us to echo without reflection the sweeping charge of Berkenhert that "it is a most contemptible piece of affectation and nonsense," nor yet, indeed, the equally unguarded assertion of Webbe, that it is a style so perfect "that nothing may be omitted or added" with safety. Here, as in so many similar cases, it is the part of the critic to mediate between excessive flattery and censure. It is upon this middle table land that our author must be placed.

A question of interest arises here as to the true origin of what is termed the Euphuistic style. It has been accepted without debate as beginning with Lyly. The object of our discussion, here, will be to show that Lyly instead of being an originator simply adopted a method already established and became its most prominent exponent in the age of Elizabeth. Such a discussion carries us over the channel to the Continent and to Italy in the fourteenth century, among a host of servile imitators of her best poets. The question at once arises as to the true relation of the England of that day to the Italy of that day, in a social and literary point of view. We are not to forget, here, that Italy is the mother of modern European Literature, the source of that intellectual light which was in turn reflected upon the different nations of Europe and beyond the straits. To her, first, Chaucer himself was largely indebted, as were our authors in the days of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth. So long as England was enjoying her Golden Age, such influence upon the Continental and English Literature was stimulating and salutary, but when that brilliant period was over and the character of social and political life had changed, English students in Italy were met by a countless number of third-rate followers of Dante and Petrarch, whose only aspiration was to manufacture poetry as best they might according to the manner of the MeisterSänger of Germany. Here then was the basis laid in the very home of song for all that deserves the name of the artificial in literature. It is just at the point where the formative minds of Northern Europe and of Great Britain came in contact with the Italian mind of the sixteenth century that we may trace back the so-called Euphuism of England and of Lyly to its only historic source in the degenerate bards of Italy. Collateral testimony is abundant as to the strong desires of Englishmen from the very first, to visit the land of Dante and Petrarch. Spoken of by the Italians at this early era as barbarians, we find it stated by an Italian after his return from England that "in dress, they are like the Italians for they are glad to boast themselves nearly allied to them." "These be the enchantments of Circe," says Ascham, "brought out of Italie to mar men's manners in England, much by example of ill life but more by precepts of bad books, of late

translated out of Italian into English and sold in every shop in London. They have in more reverence the Triumphs of Petrarch than the Genesis of Moses and a story in Boccaccio than a story in the Bible." It is in this sojourn of Englishmen in Italy when she had lost her literary glory and in this wide circulation of an inferior Italian literature in the shops and homes of England, that we discover the truest explanation of the later artifice in letters. After the desolating Wars of the Roses in the fifteenth century and the revival of letters in the days of Henry and Edward VI., there were many English hearts in which there burned a true desire to redeem English Letters from the ignominy into which they had fallen. Holding in memory the splendid days of Dante in Italy and of Chaucer in England and standing at the very threshold of Elizabeth's time, they earnestly endeavored to take a personal part in the glories just in prospect. Not possessed of the genius necessary to carry out such ambitions, the ambitions still remained. Finding themselves thus unable to produce a type of literature worthy of their ancestry or even of such of their cotemporaries as Wyatt and Surrey, they, still, resolved to accomplish their purposes by a less direct method and secure by ingenuity and novelty what could not be secured by native genius. It is here that Lyly finds himself naturally falling in with the general current of English authorship and goes down to literary history as the founder of a style of composition of which he was but one exponent among others. This explains to us what otherwise would be quite mysterious—the earnest protest which Euphuus himself sees fit to make at various points against the prevailing tendency to conceits in writing. In the dedicatory epistle to the *Anatomy of Wit* we read, "Tho' the style nothing delight the dainty ear of the curious sifter, yet will the matter recreate the mind of the courteous reader, for where the matter itself bringeth credit, the man with his gloss winneth small commendation. It is, therefore, me thinketh, a greater show of a pregnant wit than perfect wisdom in a thing of sufficient excellence to use superfluous eloquence." Lest these general statements might not be implied, he goes on to make special allusions to the reigning taste and declares—"If these things be true, which experience proveth, that a naked

tale doth most truly set forth the naked truth, I shall satisfy my own mind, tho' I cannot feed their humor, which greatly seek after those that sift the finest meal and bear the whitest mouths. It is a world to see how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than the language will allow; to eat finer bread than is made of wheat and to wear finer cloth than is wrought of wool"; as if, condemning his countrymen and himself in the same sentence, he concludes—"But I let pass this fineness which can in no way excuse my folly." Surely here is Satan casting out Satan; John Lyly himself, leading the van of literary criticism in the refutation of that affected style known as Euphuism. Similar passages from the author of *Euphues* and from many of his contemporaries might be added evincing the decided stand which all of them took against that invasion of a corrupt taste from Italy which they clearly saw was possessing the English mind. This they did, even though they themselves were yielding, more or less, in the meantime, to the vicious principles in vogue. 'Twas thus with the satirist Joseph Hall, claiming, as he did, to be the first English satirist and writer of *Epistles*. Tho' lifting up his voice and wielding his pen against the incoming of "words Italianate, big sounding sentences, and words of state" he was himself not seldom guilty of falling into the very conceits which he condemned. This reveals the power of that influence which had already been effective in England. Fortunately for English Literature, however, there were a few masculine minds whom the prevailing tastes did not corrupt. It was these bolder spirits who sounded the death knell of the false style and made it possible for succeeding generations somewhat to exhibit the best features of the golden time.

Having thus noted the origin and nature of Euphuism and the precise relations of Lyly thereto, we note a most interesting feature of this entire subject as we find a similar type and spirit of Literature over the Continent of Europe.

Turning, first, to Italy, we note that the brilliant period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was broken up by a desolating national struggle. Right upon this there followed a century and a quarter of formalism. True, indeed, the wretched condition of the Italian Government under the Philips was

largely accountable for this. Liberty of thought was forbidden on pain of death. Courts and monasteries became the asylums of the guilty and the Inquisition was the final tribunal. Whatever the cause of the decline, however, it was rapid and destructive. No more auspicious era could have been found for the cultivation of a false taste and many pens were busily at work. There were some steadfast spirits such as Guarini and Tasso who did all that men could do to stem the current, but in vain. The most prominent name connected with this decline was that of Marini. Marinism is the historic title by which this reign of artifice in Italy is now known.

If we turn to the literary history of Spain, in the seventeenth century, we find a similar development, what Bouterwek aptly calls "a new, irregular and fantastic style." Marini himself was educated in Spain, and this country is thus made in a sense the originator of this false taste in Italy and other lands. The historical name given to this conceit in Spain is, Gongorism, from Gongora of Cordova. As in Italy, so here, strenuous opposition was made by some leading minds against such a tendency. The efforts were useless. It seemed destined to run its baneful course and so pronounced was its influence that even the classic pages of Lope de Vega betray its presence. In France, in the middle of this same century, we note the full establishment of these false literary standards—a style which an English critic terms "the most factitious literature that ever befouled men of genius." Here we find the Italian Marini a resident and it was here that he produced one of the most celebrated of his poems. We do not find in France, as in the other countries, any single name that seems to embody this vicious tendency but rather a collection of names. There was a school of artifice in which many were famous. Instead of a Marini or a Gongora, we have the Hotel de Rambouillet—the Les Femmes Savants of the time of Louis le Grand. As they sit in solemn session and determine, henceforth, to call a lacquey, "un necessaire"—and a mirror, "le conseilles des graces," we have a picture of the very coquetry of literature. It was the reign of the most abject pedantry—precision run mad. Every student of Gallic letters is familiar with the vigorous and successful opposition which such a taste encountered. It was, in

fact, to the existence of this school that we owe some of the best specimens of French comedy and satire. The stinging rejoinders of Boileau and the *Les Precieuses Ridicules* of the brilliant Molière are sufficient illustrations of this. It was not the least important result of such a counter-movement that Italy herself—the old home of the conceits—caught from France the inspiration of a new literary life and went on to better things. If we ascend from Southern Europe to Germany, we find the presence of similar principles, more diffused, perhaps, throughout the entire history of the literature and yet clearly evident. If we adopt the classification of Gostwick, which divides the entire history into seven different periods, we shall find the dominance of the formal and obscure extending from the latter part of the fourth to the end of the fifth period—from the close of the sixteenth century on to the opening of the eighteenth. It was, as in Italy, a period of controversy following an era of excellence. It might be called, in a limited sense, the period of the Thirty Years' War. It was the age of the affected and imitative in so far as it was not altogether barren. In the Epic and Drama alike, true sublimity gave place to platitude while, even in the lyric, with the single exception of religious hymns, we fail to discover the element of ingenuous passion. As to the quality of the productions of second-rate authors, it is sufficient to say with Harrison, "that the road from Hamburg to Berlin is not flatter."

Such may be said to be a brief historical outline of the reign of artifice in the representative literatures of Modern Europe. It is very significant, moreover, that this development has been closely connected in every instance with areas of special excellence; at times, following; at times, preceding them. In Italy, we are at the time of Tasso and the learned court of Ferrara; in Spain, with Cervantes and Lope de Vega; in France, at the brilliant era of Richelieu and Corneille; in Germany, under the influence of the classic prose of Luther and, in England, at the very opening of Elizabethan glory.

It must further be remarked, that, apart from these special periods, such a false style runs more or less through the entire content of these several literatures. It was so in Italy, Spain, France and Germany. In England, we find it in the age of

Henry the Eighth, of the Stuarts, in the days of Cromwell, Queen Anne and the Georges. Such is the tendency to what Bacon terms—"the first distemper of learning," visible among all peoples and in all periods.

It is in fullest view of this growing tendency to the artificial in writing and upon the basis of Jonson's assertion that "nothing is lasting that is feigned" that Prof. Morley sounds in time the note of alarm to all who are tempted in this direction. With his usual felicity of expression he asserts the radical principle, "Absolute truth of manner is the life of literature and affected ornaments are those which can not arise out of the stir of a mind wholly intent upon its subject." However distant the day may be and however general the influence of literary conceits in the interval, the day will come when he will be regarded as the best writer who is content to express his thought with Saxon honesty, as "a plain, blunt man," speaking right on with simple aim and method. Such a period may be connected with the very highest destinies of the Anglo-Saxon race. If the English language is to be the chosen medium of the world's civilization and redemption, then the method of its use must be apostolic. There must be "great plainness of speech." Milton is right as he tells us that, "the very essence of truth is plainness and brightness."

T. W. HUNT.

ARTICLE IV.—THE ULTIMATE DISTINCTION IN PHILOSOPHICAL METHODS.*

THE question is sometimes asked: What is the subject-matter of philosophy? Astronomy investigates the phenomena of the heavens; Geology, the structure and physical history of the globe; Physiology, the organs of plants and animals and their functions; Psychology, the phenomena of mind. Sociology treats of human society; History, of past events and the progress of the race; Ethics, of duty; Theology, of God. What then is left for philosophy?

The answer to this question is not difficult to find. Every science has for its field a particular species of reality and deals with a special class of phenomena, but none of these sciences inquires into the nature of that reality in general which is common to many or to all. The business of philosophy, therefore, is to investigate the nature of those realities and relations which the various sciences assume to be true.

I. *The three realities of philosophical inquiry.*

What then are the realities with which philosophy deals? They are three in number—*Man*, *Nature*, and *God*. To state the same in technical language, the realities whose nature philosophy attempts to investigate are the *Mind*, the *Cosmos*, and the *Absolute*.

(a) *Man, the finite Mind*.—Whatever view one may hold of the existence of external objects and of God, no one can deny or doubt that he himself exists. For it is impossible to doubt one's own existence without being involved in a self-contradiction. Doubt implies the subject which doubts. Descartes began his philosophical speculation with universal doubt. But he quickly came to the conclusion that he could not doubt his own existence. Accordingly he says: "While we reject all of which we can entertain the smallest doubt, and even imagine that it is false, we easily indeed suppose that there is neither

* Read before the Philosophical Society of Yale University.

God, nor sky, nor bodies, and that we ourselves even have neither hands nor feet, nor finally, a body ; but we cannot in the same way suppose that we are not, while we doubt of the truth of these things ; for there is a repugnance in conceiving that what thinks does not exist at the very time when it thinks. Accordingly the knowledge, *I think, therefore I am*, is the first and most certain that occurs to one who philosophizes orderly." (*Principles of Philosophy*, Part I., vii., p. 195. Dr. Veitch's translation.)

(b) *Nature, the Universe.*—The characteristic tendency of modern philosophy is *idealistic*. The characteristic tendency of modern physical science, on the other hand, is *realistic*. Modern physical science assumes not only that the universe exists but also that it is intelligible to us ; that the phenomena of Nature can be explained by the laws of matter and motion. Prof. Huxley summarizes the modern scientific conception of Nature when he says : "If there is one thing clear about the progress of modern science, it is the tendency to reduce all scientific problems, except those which are purely mathematical, to questions of molecular physics ; that is to say, to the attractions, repulsions, motions and coördinations of the ultimate particles of matter. . . . "The phenomena of biology and of chemistry are, in their ultimate analysis, questions of molecular physics. Indeed, the fact is acknowledged by all chemists and biologists who look beyond their immediate occupations." (*The Scientific Aspects of Positivism*—in Lay Sermons, p. 183.)

(c) *God, the Absolute.*—The postulate that the Absolute exists is a necessity of thought. The Absolute is the unconditioned and is the necessary correlate of the conditioned. Therefore, no system of philosophy can consistently deny its existence. The only point of disagreement among different systems of thought is in regard to the nature of the Absolute. That the Absolute exists is admitted on all hands ; what the Absolute is, is the only point of dispute. To Materialists the Absolute is matter ; to Spinoza, substance with two attributes—thought and extension ; to the Theist, the Absolute is a conscious personality.

Mr. Spencer says : "Though the Absolute cannot in any

manner or degree be known, in the strict sense of knowing, yet we find that its positive existence is a necessary doctrine of consciousness ; that so long as consciousness continues, we cannot for an instant rid it of this doctrine ; and that thus the belief which this doctrine constitutes, has a higher warrant than any other whatever." (*First Principles*, § 27.)

The Universe, the Soul, and the Absolute—these three then are the realities, whose nature philosophy seeks to interpret. They are not the creations of our imagination, nor the illusions of our fancy. They are the real objects of our knowledge. Philosophy does not create them but aims to understand them. In the words of Prof. Harris: "They do not exist because we know them ; we know them because they exist."

II. *The problem of philosophy.*

Accordingly the problem of philosophy is simply to find the most rational and harmonious conceptions of these realities—Nature, Man, and God. In other words, the problem of philosophy in its last analysis is nothing else than the attempt to discover the most reasonable and consistent conceptions of the Universe, the Mind, and the Absolute. Therefore the questions which philosophy seeks to answer are :

- (1.) What is Man, and what are his relations to Nature and to the Absolute ?
- (2.) What is Nature, and what are its relations to Man and to the Absolute ?
- (3.) What is the Absolute, and what are its relations to Man and to Nature ?

III. *The methods of philosophy.*

There are several philosophical methods more or less familiar to us ; for instance, the dialectic method, the dogmatic method, the empirical, the sceptical, the critical, and the mystical, etc. All these methods in their last analysis, however, resolve themselves into the following four :

- (1.) That which makes the explanation of Nature the starting point of philosophical inquiry—the *Cosmological Method*.

(2.) That which begins with some conception of the Absolute and attempts to explain man and the world by the analysis of that conception—the *Absolute Method*.

(3.) That which starts with the historical and critical study of man's cognitive faculty—the *Noetic Method*.

(4.) That which proceeds at once with the every day conceptions of Nature, Man, and God, and works them over to make them philosophically consistent—the *Elaborative Method*.

In brief, (1) that which starts with Nature; (2) that which starts with the Absolute; (3) that which starts with Man; (4) that which starts with all three—Nature, Man, and God.

(1) *The Cosmological Method*.—Whatever may have been the origin of philosophy, this is historically certain, that what first aroused the Greek mind to inquiry and speculation was the phenomena of Nature. The aim in general of the pre-Socratic philosophy was the explanation of Nature. What is the first and fundamental principle which lies back of and beneath all changes in Nature? This was the first problem which the Greeks attempted to solve. Therefore the pre-Socratic philosophy may be characterized as cosmo-philosophical speculation.

But the pre-Socratic cosmological inquiry did not stop with Nature. It attempted to apply to the phenomena of consciousness the same method and principle which it employed in explaining the phenomena of Nature. Hence its strong tendency towards Materialism. This materialistic tendency is always a characteristic of that philosophical method which makes the investigation of Nature its starting point. A perfect illustration of this fact is found in the ancient Atomism. The founders of this school were Leucippus and Democritus, though the latter is better known to us as the real founder of Greek Materialism. His doctrine resembles in many respects the Materialism of the present day. This is doubtless the reason why certain recent German materialistic writers estimate his genius so highly. Some of these writers regard him as one of the most profound thinkers of Greece; as fully equal, if not superior, to Plato and Aristotle.

This school flourished in the fifth century before Christ. It claimed to explain the universe by positing space and atoms. In other words, the atomists undertook to account for the phe-

nomena of consciousness as well as for those of Nature by the principle of the *Plenum* and the *Vacuum*. The plenum is described by them as consisting of atoms, infinite in number, moving in the vacuum of space. These atoms are unlimitable and eternal; they are also indivisible and imperishable. They differ from one another in size, weight, and position, but not in quality. The soul was regarded as something corporeal, made up of "fine smooth and round atoms."

In modern times, this same method of philosophical inquiry is adopted by the materialistic scientists. These men start with Nature and attempt to carry the same principle and method of explanation which they have used with success in their study of Nature, into the sphere of psychical phenomena. Their conclusions, as might be expected, take the form of Materialism. Physical Science deals with matter and force; hence a physical explanation of psychical phenomena must be in terms of matter and force. This is exactly what Prof. Huxley asserts when he declares: "Thought is as much a function of matter as motion." (*Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1870. Herbert's "*Modern Realism Examined*," p. 411.) Elsewhere he writes again: "There is every reason to believe that consciousness is a function of nervous matter, when that nervous matter has attained a certain degree of organization, just as we know the other actions to which the nervous system ministers, such as reflex action, and the like, to be." (*Mr. Darwin and his Critics: Contemporary Review*, Nov., 1871.)

Büchner makes the same claim to explain the phenomena of consciousness in terms of matter and force. "Thought, spirit, soul are not material, not a substance, but the effect of the conjoined action of many materials endowed with forces or qualities. The steam engine is, in a certain sense, endowed with life, and produces, as the result of a peculiar combination of force-endowed materials, a united effect, which we use for our purposes, without, however, being able to see, smell, or touch the effect itself. The steam expelled by the engine is a secondary thing; it has nothing to do with the object of the machine, so does the organic complication of force-endowed materials produce in the animal body a sum of effects, so interwoven as to become a unit, and is then by us called

spirit, soul, thought." ("Force and Matter," pp. 135-36. Herbert's "*Modern Realism Examined*," p. 50.)

These quotations from Huxley and Büchner,—the one, the leader of English Materialism, and the other, the leader of German Materialism—are sufficient for our present purpose to show that one of the historic methods of philosophical inquiry is that which begins with the study of Nature and attempts to carry the same principle of explanation and the same method of investigation into the sphere of psychical phenomena to explain them. This method naturally and necessarily leads to some form of Materialism. The history of this method shows that such is its general outcome, and thereby reveals its defects.

(2) *The Absolute Method.*—With Socrates and Plato opens the second period in Greek philosophy. They introduced a new method of philosophical inquiry, and that new method is known to us as Dialectic. Socrates declared that the art of thinking by concepts which he called Dialectic, is the peculiar instrument of philosophy, and that a true knowledge must be guaranteed by the knowledge of concepts (Zeller's *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, p. 140). He taught that all virtue is dependent on knowledge and that knowledge is objective and universal and not merely subjective and individual as the sophists maintained. Accordingly Socrates held the view that it is not only impossible to do right without knowledge but also not to do right if one knows what is right.

Plato in developing this Socratic Dialectic constructed the philosophic method commonly known as the Platonic Dialectic. The object of the Socratic Dialectic was merely to teach men how to think aright. The object of the Platonic Method is to ascertain the nature and relations of concepts in themselves. The one was practical in its aim; the other, highly speculative. In short, the Socratic Dialectic became in Plato a conscious philosophic method according to which the nature of the Real or the Idea is investigated. Dialectic is, according to Plato, the philosophic method by which reason attains the highest intellectual knowledge, "using the hypotheses not as first principles, but only as hypotheses—that is to say, as steps and points of departure into a region which is above hypotheses, in order that she may soar beyond them to the first principle of the whole;

and clinging to this and then to that which depends on this, by successive steps she descends again without the aid of any sensible object, beginning and ending in ideas." (*The Dialogues of Plato*, translated by Jowett, vol. ii., p. 339.)

In other words, the Platonic dialectic is the method of philosophical inquiry which forms by successive synthesis a certain *hypothetical* conception of the Universal, and attempts to explain the universe by means of the reflective analysis of that conception. The Platonic doctrine of ideas is simply the application of this philosophic method to the solution of the problems of philosophy.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to expound the ideal theory of Plato. What we have said above is sufficient to indicate that in the ancient world of philosophy a new philosophic method was introduced by Plato,—the Dialectic Method, which makes the Idea of the Good, the Absolute, its point of departure in speculation.

In modern philosophy, this abstract deductive procedure first appears in Spinoza. He posits Substance as it is in itself and is to be conceived by itself as the starting point of his inquiry. There is only one Substance and that is the Absolute. This Substance, however, has two fundamental attributes known to us—thought and extension, and unfolds itself according to its inner necessity. By this doctrine of Substance, Spinoza transformed the dualism of Descartes into his Acosmism.

This is the conception of the Absolute, from which Spinoza undertakes to deduce the phenomena of consciousness as well as the phenomena of nature. His mode of procedure is generally known as the Mathematical or Geometrical Method as he expounds his system after the manner of geometry in the form of theorem and demonstration.

Next: we see the most perfect specimen of this philosophic method in the Dialectic of Hegel. Rosenkranz who has occupied what is known as the "Center" in the Hegelian school says, in his essay on *The Science of Logic*: "It (the Hegelian dialectic method) consisted in the Platonic method, made profound by the method of Aristotle's metaphysics, and more accurately determined by the forms of Kant's 'Critique of

Pure Reason ' ' ' ' (*Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, vol. vi., p. 113). The most complete presentation of this method is found in Hegel's *Logic* where he considers the self-movement of the Absolute, advancing from notion to notion through negation. The starting point of his *Logic* is the simplest conception of reason—Pure Being, and from this most empty concept he undertakes to deduce all knowledge and reality according to the principle of negation, proceeding from abstract to concrete, from implicit to explicit. This in brief is the philosophic method known as the Hegelian Dialectic, and which he himself declares to be "the only true method of philosophic science." (*Logik*, vol. i., p. 41-2.)

To sum up: the second philosophic method which may be characterized as the abstract-deductive mode of procedure starts with some conception of the Absolute and attempts to deduce from it all knowledge and reality according to a necessary movement of thought.

The characteristic tendency of this method is towards Pantheism, as that of the cosmological method is towards Materialism. The truth of this statement is clearly seen in the three philosophical systems above mentioned,—Platonism, Spinozism, and Hegelianism.

(3) *The Noetic Method.*—With Aristotle begins the third philosophic method,—the method which finds its starting point in the examination of man's cognitive powers. This philosophical method of Aristotle is expounded by him in his *Logic* which he calls *Analytic*, i. e. the introduction to the art of investigation, and he treats it as scientific methodology (See Zeller's *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, p. 181). He held that to investigate the general principles of Being aright, we must first of all know the forms in which it is known to us. The *Categories* are such forms of knowledge and they are ten in number: essence, magnitude, quality, relation, the where, the when, position, habit, action, and portion. But nowhere does Aristotle state the reason why he selected these as the forms of knowledge. He regards the principle of contradiction as that principle of human thought on which all demonstration is founded.

Thus the philosophic method, known in our day as the

Noetic or Epistemological Method is as old as Aristotle. This method of inquiry which starts with a theory of cognition is preëminently the method of modern philosophy, as its chief problem is the problem of knowledge, whereas the chief problem of ancient philosophy was the problem of Being. Descartes found the starting point of his speculation in the existence of the subject of thought. This is the significance of his celebrated dictum, *cogito, ergo sum*. The starting point of Locke is also an inquiry into the origin of human knowledge. The empirical method has been the general characteristic of British philosophy since the time of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, just as the transcendental method has been the general characteristic of German philosophy since the time of Leibnitz and Wolf. According to Locke, the mind is originally a *tabula rasa*, and all our knowledge originates in experience, and the two sources of our knowledge are sensation and reflection. By means of sensation, we know external phenomena, and by means of reflection we know internal phenomena. The ideas thus obtained through the external and the internal senses are called by Locke simple ideas. And from these simple ideas the mind forms, by combination, complex ideas. Knowledge is "the perception of the connection and agreement or disagreement and repugnance of our ideas." (*Human Understanding*, B. IV., Ch. 1, § 1.)

Thus Locke attempted to explain all knowledge from experience—sensation, and reflection, and laid the foundation of modern empiricism.

The rise of this mode of inquiry is largely due to "the demand for something fixed and secure" (Hegel). It emphasizes the principle that what is true must be present in the actual experience and thus far it is a reaction against the *a priori* deductive mode of procedure. Hegel says: "From Empiricism came the cry: No more aimless wandering in empty abstractions, but look at your hands, take hold of man and nature as they are here before you, and enjoy the present moment" (*Logic*, Wallace's Trans., p. 66). Empiricism starts out from the concrete and gives "that firm and fast support so much missed in the old Metaphysics." (66.)

The Critical Method of Kant is another form of the third

philosophic method which takes its start in man's cognitive powers. The difference between Locke and Kant is simply that the former follows what he calls the "plain Historical Method," while the latter adopts what he characterizes as "the Critical Method." But both start with experience. "That all our knowledge begins with experience there can be no doubt. . . . but although all our knowledge begins with experience, it does not follow that it arises from experience. For it is quite possible that even our empirical experience is a compound of that which we receive through impressions and of that which our own faculty of knowledge (incited only by sensuous impressions) supplies from itself" (*The Critique of Pure Reason, Preface to the Second Edition*). The Kantian Criticism proposes to examine man's power to know before we undertake to inquire into the nature of reality. Kant at the outset assumes the distinction between the matter of sense and the forms of thought. He asserts that experience can never give us any truth strictly universal and necessary; therefore such truths must come from the spontaneous activity of the mind. Starting with this fundamental distinction between the matter of sense and the forms of thought, Kant proceeds to subject to a critical examination these forms of thought which he calls the categories.

Now this is the method which is generally known as the Critical Method and is perhaps the most widely accepted philosophical method at the present day, the present currency of which is doubtless largely due to the strong reaction against the Hegelian Dialectic Method.

The characteristic tendency of the Noetic Method is towards *Idealism*, just as that of the cosmological method is towards *Materialism*, and that of the Absolute Method is towards *Pantheism*.

It is hardly necessary to discuss in this connection the truth of this statement as the history of modern philosophy clearly proves it. It is enough for our present purpose simply to mention Berkeley's attempt to develop the system of Locke and that of Fichte to perfect the system of Kant. The former issued in Theological Idealism and the latter, in Subjective Idealism. This intimate relation between the Noetic Method

and Idealism largely accounts for the strong idealistic tendency of our day; for the most fashionable philosophic method of the present day is the Noetic Method.

(4) *The Elaborative Method.*—The fourth philosophic method is that commonly known as the Method of Elaboration. This method aims to combine all the starting points of the other philosophic methods,—Nature, Man and God. The elaborative method is not so old as the other methods. It is comparatively modern. We find the beginning of it in Leibnitz, but it was not completed till Herbart formally adopted it as his philosophic Method.

In opposition to Fichte's Subjective Idealism and to Schelling's System of Identity, Herbart developed the realistic aspect of the Kantian philosophy into a system of philosophy which he calls "*Realism.*" He divided philosophy into three parts—Logic, Metaphysics, and Aesthetic. According to Herbart, Logic aims at clearness and distinctness in conceptions, Metaphysics, at the transformation and correction of them, and Aesthetic, at the completion of them by adding to them the qualification of worth. He starts with the presupposition that our every day conceptions of realities involve contradictions and the business of philosophy is to remove them by working over these conceptions; hence the name, the Method of Elaboration. According to this method experience is the sole foundation of philosophy, but the common view of things furnished by experience is full of contradictions. These contradictions, however, cannot be eliminated except by means of the transformation of conceptions. Hence Herbart defines philosophy as "the Elaboration of Conceptions."

The fundamental concepts of Metaphysics are the conception of Being, the conception of Causality, and the conception of Ego.

Herbart holds (1) that the every-day conception of Being, or of "a thing with several attributes" involves a contradiction, for it implies that one is many. Plurality of attributes is incompatible with unity in the object; (2) that the common-sense conception of causality also involves the same contradiction of opposing qualities in one real; (3) that the unphilosophical conception of an ego, as the unitary subject of our mani-

fold ideas, also involves the contradiction of the inherence of the many in the one. It also involves the difficulty that the knowledge of the subject that knows demands in its turn a knowledge of this knowledge, and so on *ad infinitum*. The Soul is an absolutely simple and unextended essence, and cannot be the subject of a number of powers.

These three conceptions of Being, Causality, and Ego, Herbart considers to be the cardinal concepts of Metaphysics, and Metaphysics is simply the elaboration of these empirical conceptions.

To illustrate this self-contradictory character of our ordinary conception of a thing with several attributes: We say, gold is yellow, heavy, hard, etc. Gold appears to the senses as a complex of several attributes. But we are told by psychology that these attributes are relative, they are merely subjective. Gold has no color without light and without the eye. It has no weight without the muscular sense; weight is no weight without our sensation. Notwithstanding this, when the question is asked, what is gold? common sense answers that it is the sum of all its attributes plus the substance, in which it regards these attributes of gold as inherent. This answer, however, involves the contradiction of the inherence of the many in the one, and the contradiction can only be removed by working over our ordinary conception of gold. So with all other empirical conceptions of things which involve contradictions. To remove all such contradictions latent in our every-day conceptions, according to Herbart, is the task of philosophy.

Metaphysics is divided by Lotze into three parts: Ontology, Cosmology, and Phenomenology or Psychology. In this Lotze follows Herbart. (*Outlines of Metaphysic*, translated by Prof. Ladd, p. 10.) He differed widely, however, from Herbart in his conclusions and openly protested against being classed as a Herbartian. But it is not unjust to state that, though his views were not only different from but often opposed to those of Herbart on more points than one, Lotze's Method was substantially that of Herbart—the Method of Elaboration. This statement of ours is confirmed by him when he says: "Investigation, . . . whose first business is to discover the truth, must take its departure from the largest possible number of inde-

pendent, perfectly obvious and well-recognized considerations, with the proviso that the results which the prosecution of one consideration yields, shall be subsequently corrected, so far as is necessary, by the results of the rest. In this matter, therefore, we esteem Herbart right, who assumes as many independent sections of metaphysic as there are different distinct questions, problems, or contradictions, that meet us in our common contemplation of the world, and that are the separate causes of our philosophizing in general" (*Outlines of Metaphysics*, p. 9).

The characteristic tendency of this method, if it be called such, is towards Realism; Realism not in the sense that space and time are extra-mental realities, but in the sense that some extra-mental reality or realities exist. The system of Herbart is sometimes called "Pluralistic Realism," since he maintains that there may be a plurality of "reals," though our conception of being cannot disclose this fact. Herbart's "reals" strongly remind us of the atoms of Democritus, and the monads of Leibnitz. The system of Herbart resembles the monadology of Leibnitz in more points than one.

The system of Lotze, in contrast to that of Herbart, may be called "Monistic Realism." For, according to Lotze, the Infinite is the One Real Being and all individual things are but modifications of the Absolute, which the Absolute has given to itself in the forms of mechanism. (*Outlines of Metaphysic*, p. 72.) It must not be forgotten, however, that Lotze was led to this standpoint of Realism, not through the influence of Herbart but through his knowledge of the physical and natural sciences.

IV. *Criticism and Estimate.*

Having seen that the various philosophic methods more or less noted in the past ultimately resolve themselves into four, to wit: the Cosmological, the Absolute, the Noetic, and the Elaborative, we now proceed to a brief critical examination and estimate of them, which, it is hoped, will suggest the outline of a more elaborate and complete criticism.

(1) The first in order is the Cosmological Method. The chief merit of this method is its attempt to apply one and the same principle of explanation, and one and the same method of

investigation both to the phenomena of matter and to those generally known as the phenomena of consciousness. For the mind constantly seeks simplification in the principle of explanation and in the method of investigation. This method is exceedingly satisfactory, if it is applicable to them both, as it satisfies our desire for unity. There is, however, this serious objection to this procedure, that the phenomena of consciousness are so unlike the phenomena of Nature. Thoughts and feelings are so different from matter and motion that they have nothing in common. Therefore the attempt to explain the phenomena of consciousness by the same principle and method as the phenomena of Nature is hardly justifiable. For example, the fact of memory can never be satisfactorily explained in terms of matter and motion. The same is true of self-consciousness. And if it is impossible thus to study and explain them, it is perfectly scientific to pursue another mode of investigation and to accept another principle of explanation for the phenomena of consciousness. To distort facts for the sake of explanation is against the generally accepted canon of the scientific method. (Bowne's *Metaphysics*, pp. 351 f.)

(2) *The Absolute Method.*—Since there is no special need in these latter days for a critical examination of the Platonic Dialectic method, and of the Spinozistic Mathematical method, we will at once proceed to a few remarks on the Hegelian Dialectic.

The attraction of this method, says Lotze, "consists in this, that it seeks in a series of intuitions, which it unfolds one out of the other, to convey an immediate insight into the very inner movement which forms the life of the universe, excluding that labor of discursive thought which seeks to arrive at certainty in round-about ways and by use of the most various subsidiary methods of proof" (*Metaphysics*. Eng. trans. edited by B. Bosanquet, p. 17).

Any one who has studied Hegel's *Logic* is well aware that the Hegelian Dialectic is an imposing structure of compact thoughts and that it is impossible to present a careful and extended criticism of it in this connection. "Whoever contends against Hegel's system, contends against the closest phalanx of thought" (Trendelenburg, *The Logical Question in Hegel's System*. *Journal of Spec. Philos.*, vol. v., p. 350). Since such

is the task before us, I shall content myself with repeating some of the chief objections presented by Trendelenburg in his *Logical Investigations* to the Hegelian Dialectic.

Ueberweg estimates this criticism of Trendelenburg highly, considering it to be "one of the most successful reviews of the Hegelian Method."

(1) Hegel's Logic pretends to assume nothing but pure thought and to produce the conceptions and the determinations of being from itself. The question is: Does Hegel remain true to this promise and presuppose nothing? A careful study of Hegel's Logic reveals to us beyond any doubt that the Dialectic presupposes the principle of all external phenomena, the concept of *local* motion. Without this openly despised, yet secretly received principle, "the Dialectic remains motionless and the productions of pure thought would have been less than fleeting shadows." The first criticism, then, is that the Dialectic, which haughtily claims to presuppose nothing but itself, silently but really presupposes the concept of *local* motion. This concept of local motion is "the presupposition of the presuppositionless logic." (*Logische Untersuchungen*, vol. i., p. 38 f. and *Journal of Spec. Philos.*, vol. v., p. 359.)

(2) The second criticism is that the logical means which the Dialectic employs in order to get from the pure being to the Idea, from the merest void to the fullness of the world, are Negation and Identity. It is declared that the Antithesis is produced from the thesis by *Negation*. But this is confounding the pure logical opposition with the real opposition.

The real negation or opposition is not and can never be reached by the pure logical negation. "The negativity always goes beyond its logical essence, and the opposition does not spring from pure thought, as it pretended, but from the apprehensive intuition," (*Journal of Spec. Philos.*, vol. vi., p. 83. *Logische Untersuchungen*, vol. i., pp. 43-45.)

By Negation, the antithesis is produced from the thesis. So by identity thesis and antithesis are carried up to a new and higher conception, the Synthesis of both. The higher unity is the conception of Becoming. This conception of Becoming, too, is "nothing but a relative, logical likeness—an abstraction which bleaches and blots out." (*See Journal of Spec. Philos.*,

vol. vi., p. 83. *Logische Untersuchungen*, vol. i., p. 57-8.) In a word, the Hegelian Dialectic confounds the distinction in thought with the distinction in reality.

(3) It requires no profound thought to see that what the Dialectic claims to be the forward movement of thought is simply its backward movement, retracing our steps from abstraction to the actual world which we apprehended in perception. In this Trendelenburg finds the secret of the Dialectic Method. He says: "The Dialectic is nothing else than the art by which we retrace our original abstraction" (p. 95).

This same criticism is brought against the Hegelian Dialectic by Haym in his book entitled, "*Hegel und Seine Zeit*," also by Prof. A. Seth, in his excellent recent work on "*Hegelianism and Personality*."

Such in brief are, according to our judgment, the chief defects of the Hegelian Dialectic and we shall close the criticism of this method in the words of Trendelenburg: "The presuppositionless logic everywhere presupposes the principle and the general activity of intuition, and this in secret possesses a picture which in public it contemns; instead of developing from itself a closely-knit series, it smuggled in the despised intuitions of experience, diluted and weakened, and gave them out as products of its own soil." (*Journal of Spec. Philos.*, vol. vi., p. 354.)

III. The Noetic Method makes no pretence to start with the most abstract and highest concept of Being. It avows that experience is the one sole beginning of philosophical inquiry, and in this lies its chief merit. Another merit of this method is its cautious tone. It is strongly opposed to all forms of Dogmatism. It denies nothing without criticism. It asserts nothing without examination. Every statement must be carefully scrutinized, before it is accepted or denied, in the light of our knowledge concerning the cognitive powers. Thus far the Noetic Method commends itself to any candid mind. But there is a certain amount of truth in Hegel's criticism that the critical method is involved in "the error of refusing to enter the water until you have learned to swim. True, indeed, the forms of thought should be subjected to a scrutiny before they are used; yet what is this scrutiny but *ipso facto* a cognition" (*Logic*, p.

71). Or in the words of Lotze, "there is an intrinsic unsoundness in the efforts made to found a metaphysics on a psychological analysis of our cognition. The numerous dissertations directed to this end may be compared to the tuning of instruments before a concert, only that they are not so necessary or useful." "The constant whetting of the knife is tedious, if it is not proposed to cut anything with it" (p. 12, *Metaphysics*). The danger of this method is its strong tendency towards subjective Idealism and Solipsism. The conviction of the race is against the belief that the self is all in all. It is erroneous to regard man, as this method implicitly does, as if he were a mere knowing being and no more. Man is vastly more than an intellectual creature. He is a person endowed with feeling and will as well as with intellect.

(4) The fourth Method is that of Elaboration. The chief merit of this mode of philosophical inquiry is its making experience the starting point of investigation, and putting the proper emphasis upon the fact that we must not make the phenomena of consciousness alone the starting point, but the phenomena of Nature also must be duly considered and accepted as a beginning. Nature and Mind—they are the two realities which we daily experience, and both together form the proper starting point of our inquiry. This method thus avoids the one-sided character of the Noetic and of the Cosmological method. It is also free from the arrogant pretension of the Absolute Method to deduce all realities from the most abstract concepts of thought. Lotze doubtless had this claim of the Dialectic Method before his mind, and felt the importance of clinging to experience, when he wrote as the closing words of his Logic: "I will close with the expression of my hope that German philosophy will arouse itself afresh, with more of moderation and reserve, yet with no less enthusiasm, to the endeavor, not merely to *calculate* the course of the world, but to *understand* it."

Thus far this Method of Elaboration is good and commends itself to us all. But its chief defect lies in its presupposition. It assumes that our daily conceptions of realities are necessarily inadequate and involve contradictions. Ueberweg says: "Whether the contradictions which Herbart regards as existing

in the 'formal conceptions forced upon us by experience,' are really contained in them, is at least doubtful. For the advance of science beyond the sphere of empiricism the stimulus of these contradictions is not needed; such stimulus is found, rather, in the fact that not only the existence of individual objects and things is manifest to us, but also the existence of relations, varieties of worth, ends, and laws, on which the formation of our logical norms, as also of our ethical notions, is founded" (*History of Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 379).

For a fuller examination and criticism of the Herbartian Method the undersigned refers to the masterly essay of Trendelenburg on the subject contained in his *Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie*. In this essay he undertakes to demonstrate the following three theses: (1) the contradictions which Herbart regards as latent in the formal conceptions furnished by experience are not contradictions. (2) If there were such contradictions as Herbart declares, they are not solved by the Method of Elaboration. (3) If they were contradictions and were thus removed, yet others and greater ones would remain unsolved (see vol. ii., p. 334, and *Ueberweg's History of Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 380).

Even if we grant for the sake of argument that there are such contradictions latent in our every-day conceptions as Herbart claims, the question is, how do we find out that they are inadequate and contradictory? What discloses to us this fact? The only answer is that we become conscious of this fact by means of a critical study of our powers of knowledge and by means of a careful study of the phenomena of Nature. Without these investigations, we shall never become conscious of the crude character of our conceptions. If this is the case, then the Method of Elaboration is dependent for its success upon the Cosmological and the Noetic Methods. And if it is thus dependent upon the other methods for its successful application, it can hardly claim to be independent and absolute. And if the method is not independent and absolute, Herbart's definition of philosophy, founded on his method, as the elaboration of concepts, is hardly justifiable.

RIKIZO NAKASHIMA.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

CLASSICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YALE COLLEGE.

FEB. 5, '89. Professor Seymour presented two papers.

I. A discussion of the Homeric tripod, with the thesis that the tripods which Hephaestus was making in the Eighteenth Book of the Iliad were three-legged tables or stands.

II. An investigation of the office of Adrastea or Nemesis, with the conclusion that this divinity never became a common Fury, in Greek literature. Her office was always to humble the proud.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

NO. 75.—WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 2, 1889.

Sunday, January 27.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Newman Smyth, D.D., of the Center Church. *General Religious Meeting*.—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by the Rev. W. G. Puddefoot, on Home Missions.

Monday, January 28.—*Dwight Hall Lecture Course*—Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D., of New York, on Some Suggestions of the Life of David Livingstone. Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Tuesday, January 29.—*The Spanish School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 3 P. M. *The Minister and his Bible* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus, Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Eighteenth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7 P. M.

Wednesday, January 30.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *The Minister's Private Life* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Broadus. Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lec-

ture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Discussion on the Piece-Work System in the State Prison. Linonia, 7.30 P. M.

Thursday, January 31.—*Annual Day of Prayer for Colleges*—General Meeting, Dwight Hall, 8 P. M. Address by the Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, D.D., of New York City. (Meetings of the several College classes, in Dwight Hall, at 11 A. M.)

Friday, February 1.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association*—(Evening Prayer)—Room 89. Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Lecture Preparatory to Communion Service*—Dwight Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Subjects for the John A. Porter Prize Essay for 1890.—1. History of the Scotch branch of English Literature. 2. St. Simonism. 3. Relation of Spanish Literature to the Elizabethan Drama. 4. Historic consequences of the conversion of the Franks. 5. Baron Hirsch and the Jewish question. 6. Is the doctrine of Will (Schopenhauer) necessarily pessimistic? 7. Philo Judaeus and the Alexandrian philosophy. 8. Chief Justice Marshall and the Federal Constitution of the U. S. 9. Necessity for a uniform divorce law throughout the U. S. 10. Recent colonization movement in Germany. 11. History of Wages and Prices in the U. S. during the last thirty years. 12. Relations, past, present, and prospective, between the Dominion of Canada and the U. S. The essays will be due on the first Wednesday in May, 1890.

NO. 76.—WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 9, 1889.

Sunday, February 3.—*Public Worship, followed by Communion Service*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *Yale Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by Mr. McLaughlin.

Monday, February 4.—*Dwight Hall Lecture Course*—Professor William M. Sloane, of Princeton College, on Christian Tolerance. Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *University Reception*—Dwight Hall, 8 to 11 P. M.

Tuesday, February 5.—*The French School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 3 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Eighteenth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7—7.45 p. m. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Address by Professor Hastings, on the Four Realities of Physical Science. Room B, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M. *Classical and Philological Society*—Papers by Professor Knapp, on Ancient Geographical Names, and by Professor Seymour, on the Tripods of Hephaestus in the Iliad. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, February 6.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Discussion on the Piece-Work System in State Prisons. Linonia Hall, 7.30 P. M. *University Chamber Concert*—Kniesel Quartette of Boston. North Sheffield Hall, 8.15 p. m.

Friday, February 8.—*Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper by Mr. Charles H. Ludington, Jr., on Municipal Reform in New York City. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M.

Saturday, February 9. *Sophomore Compositions* due at No. 4 Treasury Building, before 12 M.

No. 77.—WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 16, 1889.

Sunday, February 10.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Henry VanDyke, D.D., of New York City. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by the Rev. Dr. Vandyke.

Monday, February 11.—*Dwight Hall Lecture Course*—Rev. William M. Taylor, D.D., of New York City, on the Supernatural in Christ. Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Tuesday, February 12.—*The French School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 8 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Eighteenth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Synopsis of Recent Papers on Old Testament Topics. 185 College St., 7 P. M. *Mathematical Club*—A Comparison of the Electric Theory of Light and Sir William Thomson's Theory of a quasi-labile Ether, by Professor Gibbs. Sloane Laboratory, 7.30 P. M.

Wednesday, February 13.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Discussion on new rules and amendments to Constitution. Linolia Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Thursday, February 14.—*Christian Education of the Colored and Indian Races* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Gen. S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton, Va. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M. *College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, February 15.—*Christian Education of the Colored and Indian Races* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Gen. S. C. Armstrong. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Subjects for Sophomore Compositions—Yale College.—1. A Criticism of Hume's view of Cromwell. 2. Hampden. 3. Milton's Connection with Politics. 4. Burke and India. 5. The Practical Wisdom of Franklin. 6. The Utility of Third Parties. 7. The Construction of Plautus's Captivi. 8. Women in Plautus. 9. The Humor of Shakspeare. 10. Shakspeare and the Supersensuous World. 11. Chesterfield's Letters to his Son. 12. Analyze and discuss any one of the following works of fiction: Vanity Fair, or Esmond (Thackeray); Romola, or Middlemarch (George Eliot); The Scarlet Letter (Hawthorne); Consuelo (George Sand); Peau de Chagrin (Balzac). The Compositions will be due on Saturday, March 23d.

NO. 78.—WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 24, 1889.

Sunday, February 17.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Professor Fisher. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by Professor Fisher.

Monday, February 18.—*Science and Miracle* (Lecture in the Phi Beta Kappa Course)—Professor DuBois. Linonia Hall, 7 P. M.

Tuesday, February 19.—*The French School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 3 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Nineteenth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Papers by Mr. Nakashima, on the Ultimate Distinction in Philosophical Methods. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, February 20.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 3 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M.

Thursday, February 21.—*Divine Truth for all Conditions of Men* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. John Hall, D.D., of New York City. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M.

Friday, February 22.—*Divine Truth for all Conditions of Men* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. Dr. Hall. Marquand Chapel, 8 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *The Great Basin* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Brewer. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School.—The programme of the annual course of Lectures on Military Science, by officers of the U. S. Engineering School at Willets Point, is as follows:—

Monday, February 25—Armies, their Organization, Equipment, and Tactics. Lieut. Mason M. Patrick.

Friday, March 1—Moving, Supplying, and Sheltering Troops. Capt. Eric Bergland.

Monday, March 4—Strategy and Grand Tactics. Lieut. Charles S. Riché.

Friday, March 8—Light, Siege, and Sea-Coast Artillery. Lieut. H. C. Newcomer.

Monday, March 11—Field and Permanent Fortifications; their Attack and Defence. Lieut. J. G. Warren.

Friday, March 15—Sea-Coast Defence, Vessels which Attack them, and Torpedo Systems. Lieut. George A. Zinn.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

LANCIANI'S "ANCIENT ROME."*—Probably no man is in a better position to know what has been done in the way of excavation at Rome during the past twenty years than the author of this book, and one turns its pages with the expectation of finding much that will be of great interest. Nor is he disappointed in this expectation. Nothing is said in the preface that would indicate that the book is a collection of popular lectures, yet no one can read it without coming to the conclusion that such must be the case. It seems quite evident that the lectures which Prof. Lanciani delivered in this country, with additions and changes, are here given us in book form. This is a disappointment, for we had expected something rather different and which would have been of more service to the archæologist, from one so well fitted to speak on this subject. However, Prof. Lanciani has not chosen to gratify this wish and we must make the best of what we have. It must therefore be premised that there can be no proper comparison of this book with Prof. Middleton's *Ancient Rome*, as the latter is an archæologist's manual of great value, while the book before us is simply a popular presentation of many interesting features of Old Rome. Doubtless there was room for just such a book. Archæology is one of those relatively new and still unappreciated sciences, the discoveries of which have thrown a flood of light on many an obscure point in ancient history and language, and any attempt to popularize its results is of great value. We are not yet wholly free from that old feeling that the ancients lived in a different world, and were persons whose very existence was slightly mythical. To find one's self set down in the midst of a Pompeian bath or the Roman forum as it was in the time of the Empire, is for many, a peculiar experience and something of a shock. It is the great function of archæology to transport us back into the very life and atmosphere of antiquity in a much more perfect way than the study of language and literature alone can do, although a knowledge of the latter is indispensable

* *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries.* By RODOLFO LANCIANI. pp. 29 and 329. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888.

to a thorough appreciation of the former. The perusal of such a book as this will give a man a more vivid conception of many things in Roman civilization than he could obtain from any amount of Latin literature. It may be well briefly to outline its contents. There is one chapter devoted to the Sanitary Condition of Ancient Rome, in which an account of the drainage, water supply, and kindred topics is given, and others on Public Places of Resort, the Palace of the Cæsars, the House of the Vestals, the Public Libraries of Ancient and Mediæval Rome, the Tiber and Claudian Harbor, the Police and Fire Department of Ancient Rome, and the Campagna. The description of the libraries and of the public places of resort is especially interesting.

To the cold blooded Anglo-Saxon it is an amusing book in one sense. The native exuberance and rhetorical extravagance of the author are visible on every page, and although perhaps to be expected in a lecture, even on archæology, seem forced and out of place in serious writing. Although the author writes in a foreign tongue, in only a few instances has unfamiliarity with our idiom caused the misuse of terms, but there is a marked fondness for French words and phrases, which is rather pedantic.

Chapter II. is entitled "The Prehistoric Life of Rome," and here we find numerous passages which seem to show that an archæologist's zeal is not always "according to knowledge." Prof. Lanciani returns fervent thanks to Heaven that "we are already far from that period in which it was fashionable to follow the exaggerations of that famous hypercritical school which denied every event in Roman history previous to the second Punic war," and then makes the somewhat startling assertion (p. 34) that "Philological researches have shown that the name of Romulus is a genuine one, and that it belongs to the builder of Rome, as we shall presently see." On page 38 we read, "As to the epoch in which the foundation of Rome, this greatest event in the history of mankind, took place, it was, chronologically speaking, the seven hundred and fifty-fourth year before Christ; pre-historically speaking it was the age of bronze." And at the close of the chapter it is really touching to find this: "Now that I have come to the end of this chapter I feel almost sorry that I have confined myself to a strict scientific inquiry in connection with Rome, and have spoken the language of dry exactness, when I might easily have abandoned myself to the fascination of poetical and legendary traditions." These three quotations give some

idea of the character of the chapter, and what can a critic say when in the year 1888, a man at the head of the Archæological Bureau of Rome, deliberately makes such statements. Prof. Lanciani seems to accept as true history stories which long ago lost all claims to truthfulness, and he announces with perfect simplicity and faith that "Tullus Hostilius built a stone enclosure called the *Curia*" (p. 76), and speaks of the "flight of steps, the same down which the body of Servius Tullius had been hurled by Tarquinius" (p. 78). Naturally such statements do not tend to increase the reader's confidence in the author's infallibility. It would be interesting to know just how much basis there is for the supposition (p. 52) that *Cloacina* was the "goddess of typhoid." On page 106 we find this remarkable tribute to Augustus: "This man, sent by God to change the condition of mankind and the state of the world, this founder of an empire which is still practically in existence." Great as Augustus' influence certainly was, Prof. Lanciani magnifies it far above the estimate of historians. In treating of the Vestals, Prof. Lanciani seems to be greatly exercised over their mysteries and secrets, and announces his belief that they were "buried with the corpse of the last Vestal." Undoubtedly, but we are quite sure that these mysteries and secrets were extremely few and insignificant, as compared with his idea of them.

The reader will be amused at this statement on page 49:—"The history of malaria in connection with Rome must be divided into five periods,—the prehistoric, the republican, the imperial, the mediæval and the modern." The author then develops the interesting theory that the malaria was a result of the cessation of volcanic action in the region around Rome, and that the "deadly calm of nature" is responsible for its appearance and continuance. At the top of page 235 we are told that the "Tiber as regards volume and level of water has never changed within historical times," and, a dozen lines below, that during the last twenty-one centuries the level of the water and the bed of the river have risen a little more than two feet. On page 234 we read of the channel of the river which "shoals, moving sands and an almost complete absence of tide made exceedingly difficult and dangerous for sailing vessels." Why the absence of tide should add to the difficulty of navigation is not very easy to see, and we think that most sailors would even be bold enough to assert the contrary.

On page 113 there is a most inexplicable piece of misinterpretation. In the thirteenth letter of the first book, the Younger Pliny complains bitterly of the custom of so many of absenting themselves from the so-called *recitationes* which rhetoricians and authors were wont to give. Doubtless these were ordinarily very tiresome, but Pliny says in this letter that he made it a point to attend them all, and certainly implies that he enjoyed them. A part of this letter Prof. Lanciani has taken, and misinterpreting the idea as well as the language, presents a vivid picture of Pliny's disgust at such exercises, and the tricks to which he used to resort to escape. In this connection it may also be said that there is no evidence in Pliny's letter that there were any "literary academies and societies," or that they were accustomed to meet in the palace of the Cæsars. The reader of Prof. Lanciani's remarks in this place, would also infer, we feel sure, that Pliny wrote this letter during the reign of Claudius. It is hard to see how our author could have blundered so over this letter, for it cannot, of course, be supposed for a moment that he is not perfectly familiar with the Latin language. However, Pliny seems to be a stumbling block for him, for on pages 282 and 283 there is a translation of another letter, which is not wholly satisfactory. It is quoted as the "sixteenth letter of the sixth book," when it is really the sixteenth of the fifth book. *Nondum annos quatuordecim impleverat* is translated "although she had not yet completed her thirteenth year;" and the last clause of the letter thus,—“and lastly seeks them (i. e. words of comfort) as the sweetest balsam for a wounded heart.” This is very fine, but is hardly found in the original “*et clementer admotis adquiescit.*” Why not be exact when there is no object in being anything else!

An archæologist's zeal may account for many seeming extravagances, and it is idle to be hypercritical, but there does not seem to be much sense in such remarks as we find on page 25:—“Archæology is a science which different from others, begins at once to repay the zeal of the student with deep moral satisfaction without obliging him to serve a dull tiresome apprenticeship. It is a science so noble and fascinating that it helps wonderfully to form the character of intelligent youths.”

After making due allowance for such points as we have mentioned, it must be said that the book is very interesting and well worth reading. The book is most sumptuously printed and bound.

HISTORY OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1788.*—It was in 1789, that the present national Constitution went into operation; and the approach of the centennial anniversary of that important event has invested with a new interest the proceedings of all the different State conventions which had first to accept it. Those who are investigating the constitutional history of the country, are indebted to the Hon. Joseph B. Walker, for the preparation of an account of the proceedings of the New Hampshire convention, which has just been published by Cupples & Upham. In that State there was at first a strong feeling of opposition to the proposed Constitution. According to Mr. Walker, the experience of the people of that State of the British policy under the Georges, and of the selfish administration of their provincial governors, had rendered them very cautious about surrendering to any superior central power a portion of the rights which they had just acquired by a profuse expenditure of blood and treasure. Then the public sentiment was so adverse to slavery which was gradually dying out within their limits, that the provision of the proposed Constitution which seemed to them conservative of that institution, awakened wide-spread disapproval. The inhabitants of New Hampshire, also, were almost wholly an agricultural people. The short coast-line of their State afforded but one harbor, and the hardy farmers of the interior felt but little need of a strong central government. At the first meeting of the convention in February, 1788, a majority of the delegates were found to be opposed to ratification. Under these circumstances, the friends of the constitution secured an adjournment in the hope that the recess would afford them time and opportunity to enlighten the people of the more inland towns. The effect of this was what had been hoped; and when the convention reassembled June 18th, 1788, the final vote, after a very short session resulted in a majority of ten for the ratification of the Constitution. It was, then, owing to this delay, that New Hampshire had the honor—as the “ninth State,” according to the provision of the Constitution—of being the key-stone of the great national arch, and of enabling the present national government to go into operation.

If the space at our command would allow it, we should like to

* *A History of the New Hampshire Convention for the investigation, discussion, and decision of the Federal Constitution; and of the Old North Meeting-house of Concord, in which it was ratified by the Ninth State and thus rendered operative, at one o'clock P. M., on Saturday, the 21st day of June, 1788.* By JOSEPH B. WALKER. Boston: Cupples & Upham, 1888. 12mo, pp. 128.

give in full the speech made by Hon. Joshua Allerton in opposition to ratification, especially on account of the clause relating to the importation of slaves. He says: "The idea that strikes so disagreeably and forcibly those who are opposed to this clause, is that if we ratify this constitution we become consenters to, and partakers in, the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic, at least for a certain period, without any positive stipulation that it shall even then be brought to an end. . . . Congress may be as much or more puzzled to put a stop to it then than we are now. . . . We do not think we are under any obligation to perform works of supererogation for the reformation of mankind. We do not esteem ourselves under any necessity to go to Spain or Italy to suppress the Inquisition of those countries; or of making a journey to the Carolinas to abolish the detestable custom of enslaving the Africans;—but, sir, we will not lend the aid of our ratification to this cruel and inhuman merchandise, not even for a day. There is a great distinction between not taking a part in the most barbarous violation of the sacred laws of God and humanity and our becoming guarantees for its exercise for a term of years. Yes, Sir, it is our full purpose to wash our hands clean of it."

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

MR. GROUND'S EXAMINATION OF SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY* has for its chief aim to prove that the fundamental principles of that philosophy logically terminate, not in Atheism or Agnosticism, but in Theism. Unlike many of Mr. Spencer's critics, he writes with a high appreciation of his principles and processes of reasoning. He believes that his philosophy, as a whole, has never been refuted, and that it can not be. It has, however, been greatly perverted by both its friends and its foes, and our author would seem to hold that it has not always been logically carried out by the author himself. Mr. Ground is a theistic evolutionist and conducts in this volume an able argument to support the thesis that Theistic Evolution is the true philosophy. His chapter on the "Teleological Aspect of Evolution" is an acute defense of the view that no system of evolution can be constructed without assuming teleological principles. He conclusively shows that Mr. Spencer's system implies such principles, and breaks down without them. It may be somewhat late to call attention to a book

* *An Examination of the Structural Principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy:* intended as a Proof that Theism is the only Theory of the Universe that can satisfy Reason. By the Rev. W. D. GROUND, Curate of Newburn, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Parker & Co. Oxford and London. pp. 351.

treating of a matter which has been so abundantly discussed in recent years, but it is undeniable that the determination of the true meaning, applications, and limitations of the idea of evolution is one of the chief aims of philosophical thought. That the coming philosophy of evolution must be theistic is ably demonstrated in the treatise before us.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

*SCRIPTURES, HEBREW AND CHRISTIAN** is the title of an edition of the Sacred Scriptures of Christendom which is to be complete in three volumes. Vol. I., issued two years since, covers Hebrew History to the Exile. The present volume embraces, as its chief contents, the Psalms, Prophets, and the Old Testament Wisdom. The remaining volume, which is in preparation, will contain the New Testament. Vol. II. is composed of six parts whose titles are as follows: "History of the Jews from the Exile to Nehemiah;" "Hebrew Legislation;" "Hebrew Tales;" "Hebrew Prophecy;" "Hebrew Poetry;" "Hebrew Wisdom." The plan of this work is unique. It is a new grouping, according to chronological and logical relations, of the matter of Sacred Scripture. It might be called a new canon for the student. The most important portions of the Old Testament are here arranged according to historical order and grouped according to the class of literature to which they belong and presented in new and felicitous translations.

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GEORGE B. STEVENS.

* *Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian*, arranged and edited by EDWARD T. BARTLETT, D.D., and JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D., Professors in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. Vol. II., Hebrew Literature. G. P. Putnam's Son's, New York and London, 1889. pp. 582. \$1.50 per volume.



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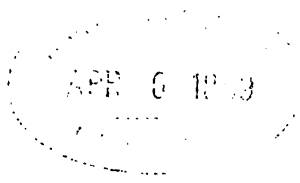
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No. CCXXIX.

APRIL, 1889.

ARTICLE I.—BRYCE ON AMERICAN LEGISLATION.

The American Commonwealth. By JAMES BRYCE, Author of the "Holy Roman Empire," M. P. for Aberdeen. In two volumes. London: MacMillan & Co., and New York. 1888. 8vo, pp. xx, 750, 743.

PROFESSOR BRYCE has brought to this work on the American Commonwealth two things not often united in a critic of our institutions, an extensive and exact acquaintance with history, and that familiarity with practical politics which comes only from actual contact with it, in important official positions. He is a close observer, but does not weary the reader with too much particularity of detail. It is a fault of Englishmen, he owns, in book-making to try to cover the whole ground with equal minuteness, and it is a fault from which he has kept himself free. And, on the other hand, this self-distrust which withheld him from giving careful attention to many matters

which are really intelligible only to Americans, has limited the generalizations which he draws to comparatively narrow bounds. It is not however because he had formed few.

"When I first visited America," he says, "eighteen years ago, I brought home a swarm of bold generalizations. Half of them were thrown overboard after a second visit in 1881. Of the half that remained some were dropped into the Atlantic when I returned across it after a third visit in 1883-84; and although the two latter journeys gave birth to some new views, these views are fewer and more discreetly cautious than their departed sisters of 1870."

One of the earliest which he puts forward is that "parties have been organized far more elaborately in the United States than anywhere else in the world, and have passed more completely under the control of a professional class."

It may be doubted whether this is true except as to national politics, and the government of our great cities. The rule of the political "boss" is generally felt in inverse proportion to the territory he seeks to cover, but as regards our Presidential elections, it must be owned that the machinery by which they are evolved is supplied less by law than by party usage. The device of the electoral college, which the framers of our Constitution fondly imagined would frustrate every attempt to subordinate the will of the individual elector to that of any aggregation of individuals, has proved inadequate to cope with the power of the caucus and the press, the railroad and the telegraph.

This, however, was almost the only thing in which they failed to forecast the development of their work with some degree of precision. After all deductions, says Mr. Bryce, the Constitution of the United States ranks above every other known to history "for the intrinsic excellence of its scheme, its adaptation to the circumstances of the people, the simplicity, brevity, and precision of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness in principle with elasticity in details." No small part of its merits he ascribes to its accepting as its model in general the Constitutions already adopted and in use in the several States. So far as it followed them it had a settled experience to rely on, but "nearly every provision that has

worked badly is one which the Convention for want of a precedent, was obliged to devise for itself."

The book deals with so many subjects, and with all so well that it would be impossible to review it with any thoroughness in the limits of a single Article. We turn, therefore, to its treatment of one matter, as to which the author was peculiarly fitted to observe and judge, from his familiarity with British parliamentary institutions.

In his chapters on the Senate and "The House at Work," he gives the best picture of the actual methods of legislation at Washington which has yet been sketched, and to these are afterwards added a clear and full description of our State legislatures.

Our plan of equal State representation in the Senate he pronounces the best of any of the methods now in use, in constitutional governments, for giving a distinct as well as natural character to the upper house of the legislative assembly.

"Italy," he says, "has a Senate composed of persons nominated by the Crown. The Prussian House of Lords is partly nominated, partly hereditary, partly elective. The Spanish Senators are partly hereditary, partly official, partly elective. In the Germanic Empire, the Federal Council consists of delegates of the several kingdoms and principalities. France appoints her senators by indirect election. In England the members of the House of Lords now sit by hereditary right; and those who propose to reconstruct that ancient body are at their wits end to discover some plan by which it may be strengthened, and made practically useful, without such a direct election as that by which members are chosen to the House of Commons. The American plan, which is older than any of those in use on the European continent, is also better, because it is not only simple, but natural, *i. e.*, grounded on and consonant with the political conditions of America."

The provision in favor of senators of a six years' term has given them, he thinks, a great advantage over members of the house in facilitating their chances of re-election, and the fact that their terms end in such a way that two-thirds of the Senate has always been at least four years in office has created "a

set of traditions and a corporate spirit, which have tended to form habits of dignity and self-respect."

Perhaps in speaking of this result as an incidental one, he hardly gives sufficient consideration to the fact that the Senate is an eternal body, which never dies. It is the same Senate to-day, that existed a hundred years ago. Each House of Representatives begins as a new organization, and adopts new rules. The rules of the Senate remain the same from session to session, without any form of re-adoption. This continuity of existence necessarily produces a sentiment of solidarity, which has a marked effect on their modes of proceeding.

For a quarter of a century, and until driven to it by increasing numbers, the Senate had no standing committees, and it is due to this, in part, no doubt, that no joint standing committees have ever been constituted by the two houses, according to the familiar plan in many of our States. The Senate met, at first, as a "congress of ambassadors," representing the Congress of the Confederation much more nearly than did the lower house. It represented a different constituency, and it might well look at many public questions in a different way.

If, therefore, a petition is to be sent in to Congress a separate paper must be addressed to each House. If a measure is proposed, it must be advocated or opposed before different committees, one of which often reports in its favor, and the other against it. The time of the promoters or opponents of a bill is rather wastefully expended, in such double hearings; but as the least legislation is commonly the best, the public may not suffer much loss in the end.

The general aspect of the Senate in session, says Mr. Bryce, is not so much that "of a popular assembly as of a diplomatic congress." It "seldom wears that air of listless vacuity and superannuated indolence, which the House of Lords presents on all but a few nights of every session." . . . "As respects ability, the Senate cannot be profitably compared with the English House of Lords, because that assembly consists of some twenty eminent men and as many ordinary men attending regularly, with a multitude of undistinguished persons who, though members, are only occasional visitors, and take no real share in the deliberations."

The almost defiant tone of criticism with which the merits and composition of the upper house of Parliament are discussed throughout this work by a member of the lower house, will surprise no one who has watched the amazing change of public opinion in England in regard to this subject within the past twenty years. A peer is still prized in a drawing-room, or as chairman of a public meeting, but as a factor in politics he counts for little. The expediency of abolishing the House of Lords is freely discussed by leading men on the platform, and plain words are used. Particularly is this true since the enormous expansion of the suffrage under the operation of the Redistribution Act. England has become almost a democracy. She is still attached to the Crown, because it is the least powerful form of the Executive known in modern governments; because in short, in the past it was great, in the present it is harmless. But the lords retain an awkward residuum of power. They in no sense represent the people of England. They do, in part, represent the Church of England, but the Church of England has ceased to be the church of the English. Disestablishment has been found possible for Ireland: it is more than possible for the England of the coming century. If there are still serious obstacles in the way, the House of Lords with its bench of bishops is the greatest of them. Out of a membership of over five hundred, all but twenty are "undistinguished persons." Such a body cannot permanently endure as part of a system of popular government.

In our House of Representatives Mr. Bryce finds little to remind him of the chamber of which he is himself a member. "Resemblances, of course, there are. But an English parliamentarian who observes the American House at work is more impressed by the points of contrast than by those of similarity. The life and spirit of the two bodies are wholly different." Instead of ranges of benches on which members lounge with their hats on, with no table even, except for the use of the leaders of either party, and but a few narrow seats for spectators, he finds an immense school-room full of desks, begirt with galleries which would seat the entire population of an average Connecticut town. "The raising and dropping of desk lids, the scratching of pens, the clapping of hands to call the pages, keen

little boys who race along the gangways, the pattering of many feet, the hum of talking on the floor and in the galleries, make up a din over which the Speaker with the sharp taps of his hammer, or the orators, straining shrill throats, find it hard to make themselves audible." . . . "Less favorable conditions for oratory cannot be imagined, and one is not surprised to be told that debate was more animated and practical in the much smaller room which the House formerly occupied. Not only is the present room so big that only a powerful and well-trained voice can fill it, but the desks and chairs make a speaker feel as if he were addressing furniture rather than men, while of the members few seem to listen to the speeches." . . . "As a theatre or school, either of political eloquence or political wisdom, the House has been inferior not only to the Senate but to most European assemblies." . . . In all assemblies one must expect abundance of unreality and pretence. Many speeches absolutely addressed to the gallery, many bills meant to be circulated, but not to be seriously proceeded with. However, the House seems to indulge itself more freely in this direction than any other chamber of equal rank. Its galleries are large, holding 2500 persons. But it talks and votes, I will not say to the galleries, for the galleries cannot hear it, but as if every section of American opinion was present in the room. It adopts unanimously resolutions which perhaps no single member in his heart approves of, but which no one cares to object to, because it seems not worth while to do so." . . . "American statesmen keep their pockets full of the loose cash of empty compliments and pompous phrases, and become so accustomed to scatter it among the crowd, that they are surprised when a complimentary resolution or electioneering bill, intended to humor some section of opinion at home, is taken seriously abroad. The House is particularly apt to err in this way, because, having no responsibility in foreign policy, and little sense of its own dignity, it applies to international affairs the habit of election meetings."

An American would be apt to qualify such criticisms by referring to the caution with which the House has often treated questions of diplomacy, when its action upon them might cast a reflection on the State Department, or embarrass pending

negotiations. When the House is in accord politically with the President, this may often be observed. At the recent session of Congress, for instance, the Senate passed a joint resolution, denouncing any project of a foreign government to exercise control over the Panama canal, but the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported on the resolution adversely, upon the ground that it extended the Monroe doctrine beyond its proper limits; and it failed of adoption.

The average business capacity of the American Congressman he thinks equal to that of the members of the House of Commons. There are fewer great lights, but there are almost none "of two classes, hitherto well represented in the British Parliament, the rich, dull parvenu, who has brought himself into public life, and the perhaps equally unlettered young sporting or fashionable man who, neither knowing nor caring anything about politics, has come in for a county or (before 1885) a small borough, on the strength of his family estates. Few Congressmen sink to so low an intellectual level as these two sets of persons, for Congressmen have almost certainly made their way by energy and smartness, picking up a knowledge of men and things 'all the time.' . . . As regards manners, they are not polished because they have not lived among polished people, yet neither are they rude, for to get on in American politics one must be civil and pleasant."

The want of a recognized leader and whip for each party, he thinks would cause inevitable confusion and misrule, were it not that "parties are few in the United States, and their cohesion tight. There are usually two only, so nearly equal in strength that the majority cannot afford to dissolve into groups like those of France." The House would, indeed, be little but a mob, were it not for the American system of Committees, under which, when any report comes up for action, "the chairman of the particular committee is treated as a leader *pro hac vice*, and members who know nothing of the matter, are apt to be guided by his speech, or his advice, given privately."

In Parliament a bill is discussed and its fate perhaps decided in its earlier stages, but Congress rarely pays attention to any until it comes up on the report of a committee, to which it has

been referred as a matter of course. "Not having been discussed, much less affirmed in principle, by the House, a bill comes before its committee with no presumption in its favor, but rather as a shivering ghost stands before Minos in the nether world. It is one of many, and for the most a sad fate is reserved." "A committee have technically no right to initiate a bill, but as they can either transform one referred to them, or, if none has been referred which touches the subject they seek to deal with, can procure one to be brought in and referred to them, their command of their own province is unbounded. Hence the character of all the measures that may be passed or even considered by the House upon a particular branch of legislation, depends on the composition of the committee concerned with that branch." "It is through these committees chiefly that the executive and legislative branches of government touch one another. Yet the contact, although the most important thing in a government, is the thing which the nation least notices, and has the scantiest means of watching." "As on an average each committee (excluding the two or three great ones) has only two hours out of the whole ten months of Congress allotted to it to present and have discussed all its bills, it is plain that few measures can be considered, and each but shortly, in the House." "What are the results of this system? It destroys the unity of the House as a legislative body. Since the practical work of shaping legislation is done in the committees, the interest of members centres there, and they care less about the proceedings of the whole body. It is as a committee-man that a member does his real work. In fact the House has become not so much a legislative assembly as a huge panel from which committees are selected."

The ever increasing number of members has probably made this condition of things necessarily permanent. The work is done in committee, because it has become physically impossible to do it anywhere else. There measures can be discussed, and both sides heard. But few members of the House know what measures have been passed or acted upon, at any sitting, until they read it in the next day's newspapers. The chairmen of the leading committees and the Speaker keep the run

of the main business to be transacted: the Speaker as a sort of despot, recognizing whom he will, and the chairmen as "practically a second set of ministers before whom the Departments tremble, and who, though they can neither appoint nor dismiss a post-master or a tide-waiter, can by legislation determine the policy of the branch of administration which they oversee."

In the chapter on "Congressional Legislation," some of the defects in our mode of framing and bringing forward bills are frankly criticised. Our Congress is not to be classed as one of the "governing Parliaments, such as those of England, France, and Italy." The Executive with us is still left to govern, and Congress is only to enact the laws for him to administer through a ministry of his own liking. In the House of Commons, as the leader really is the executive power of the empire, and is continually fighting for his crown, he must exercise peculiar care as to the choice and form of the measure for which he is content to be responsible. "The ministry dispose of a half or more of the working time of the House." "A specially difficult bill is usually framed by a committee of the cabinet, and then debated by the cabinet as a whole, before it appears in Parliament. Minor bills are settled in the departments by the parliamentary head with his staff of permanent officers." So far as concerns their actual wording "government bills are prepared by the official government draftsmen, two eminent lawyers with several assistants, who constitute an office for this purpose."

But the ministry does not discharge its duty by taking care that its own bills are right, or that those aimed against them by the opposition are defeated. "If they allow a private member to pass a bad bill, if they stop him when trying to pass a good bill, they are in theory no less culpable than if they pass a bad bill of their own. Accordingly, when the second reading of a measure of any consequence is moved, it is the duty of some member of the ministry to rise, with as little delay as possible, and state whether the ministry support it, or oppose it, or stand neutral. Standing neutral is, so far as responsibility to the country goes, practically the same thing as supporting."

This function of the British ministry Americans are content to leave to public opinion, that is, to the daily newspapers. But the newspaper is better at criticizing a policy, than the terms in which it is expressed. The form of congressional and of all American legislation, is therefore slovenly in the extreme, as compared with that of most other countries.

An Act of great importance was passed on the last day of the Forty-ninth Congress, to alter the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States, in which the word *controversy* was spelled *controversary* in four separate places, and which contained the following remarkable patchwork of a sentence, among several others hardly less obscure: "Nor shall any circuit or district court have cognizance of any suit except upon foreign bills of exchange, to recover the contents of any promissory note or other chose in action in favor of any assignee, or of any subsequent holder of such instrument be payable to bearer, and be not made by any corporation, unless," etc., etc. Here the courts eventually decided to read *of* after the word *holder*, as meant for *if*; but no judicial construction could hide or better the involved phraseology by which suits against corporations on their commercial paper were left unaffected by the Act, doubtless by an amendment hurriedly drafted and adopted on the spur of the moment. Mr. Bryce says that our system of committees is "really a plan for legislating by a number of commissions," in that their reports are of such a kind as seem "designed to make amendment in details needless, while leaving the general policy to be accepted or rejected by a simple vote of the whole body. In this last respect the plan may be compared with that of the Romans during the Republic, whose general assembly of the people approved or disapproved of a bill as a whole, without power of amendment, a plan which had the advantage of making laws clear and simple." Perhaps it would be better if the recommendations of our committees were held more sacred, for many of the worst features of our laws have crept in by amendments, thrust upon a bill, without the consent of the committee, and perhaps accepted by the chairman on but a moment's consideration as the price of carrying it, because he knows that discussion would bring a delay, which means defeat. In one of our appropriation bills, a few years

ago, for instance, in connection with an appropriation for light-houses, came a provision that all bridges over navigable rivers shall be lighted by their owners in a certain way. It is safe to assume that this bill never left the committee room in that shape, but was amended on its passage by the effort of some member who had or whose constituents had a grievance which could not so easily be redressed in any other way.

The form of a bill to be reported is also often left by the committee to the discretion of the chairman, and he brings up for adoption as their work what is really his own.

The writer of this Article, a few years ago, happened to be, as a spectator, on the floor of one of the chambers of the legislature of his State, when the chairman of an important committee handed him a bill designed to remedy a certain defect in the existing statutes, and asked if he would not try to put it into better shape. This was hastily done after a few minutes consideration, and immediately afterwards the bill was reported to the house, as recommended by the committee, and passed without discussion.

What has been said thus far applies mainly to public laws, but as to private bills the contrast between English and American methods is still more sharp.

Professor Bryce discusses it at length in connection with the working of our State governments. Special bills for the special benefit of some private interest or locality make up by far the larger part of American legislation. "They are one of the scandals of the country."

The tendencies of our more recent State Constitutions is to limit their field within narrower and narrower bounds. But to a certain extent they will always be necessary, and no American legislature has yet made adequate provision for guarding itself against too great facility in granting them.

For forty years England has treated them less as legislation than as a kind of semi-judicial relief, to be granted only on a petition and trial. No private or local bill is heard unless it was filed in the private bills office sixty days before the opening of the session. Notice must be given to all adversely interested, and considerable payments, averaging not less than two

hundred pounds, made to reimburse the government for the scrutiny with which they examine the proposition. There are special parliamentary agents whose profession it is to promote private bills.

Something of this nature was formerly the practice in New England. The legislature was deemed also to be a court to grant relief whenever the ordinary tribunals were without jurisdiction. A petition accompanied by a writ and served by the sheriff, summoned the adverse parties to the capital on a set day during the session, and costs were taxed against the losing party, and collected on execution. The shadow of these forms still continues in some of them, but is yearly growing thinner.

The American Bar Association a few years ago instructed its Committee on Jurisprudence to inquire into this subject, and their report contains the following reference to the character and dangers of private bills:

"These constitute the bulk of our legislation. Though designed to serve some private or local interest, each of them necessarily takes something away from the public, some appropriation, immunity or special privilege.

"Their number is steadily increasing, and the intended checks in our more recent State Constitutions have but partially availed against the ingenuity of our profession. Three thousand more bills were introduced at the last session of Congress than at the corresponding session of the preceding Congress. Eleven hundred statutes were enacted, of which five-sixths were private laws. The President of the United States has felt called upon to give to many of these measures a closer scrutiny than has been usually demanded of his predecessors, and but for his repeated vetoes there would have been a hundred more.

"It is a wasteful, perhaps almost an unrepugnant method of government, to burden the chief executive with a minute supervision of all special legislation. There are others who can do it as well, or better, and whose time is of less value to the public. There are treasury officials who should know better how to guard the treasury. There are some private interests likely to oppose, if they had the opportunity, whatever bills other private interests may be concerned in promoting.*

The measure of protection recommended was the creation in every State of a committee of revision to put all bills into proper legal form, having due reference to the existing law, before they can come up for final passage, and a trial of the

* Reports of Am. Bar Association, vol. ix, page 282.

merits of all private bills with the aid of counsel to represent the public, and at the expense of the petitioners.

This would alleviate one set of evils, but only one. The real intrenchment of the system is in the spirit of localism which binds every member of a legislature to the spot he represents, and makes his will so often almost supreme as to the right or wrong of any measure affecting the particular interests of his constituency.

Mr. Bryce computes that the annual cost to the public treasuries of the sessions of our various legislatures is not less than \$10,000,000. If the English plan of requiring a deposit of a substantial sum before a private bill can be considered were adopted, this expense could be very greatly reduced, for about three-quarters of all bills introduced are of a private nature. Probably not less than 30,000 bills are brought before Congress and the several State and Territorial legislatures, during those years when most of them are in session. The British Parliament in 1885 received in all less than five hundred.

Mr. Bryce is far from suggesting that all the faults in our system of legislation which he candidly points out are as injurious to us as they might be "to England or to any European government, were they to be found there." The chief practical use of history, he tells us, "is to deliver us from plausible historical analogies," and few have studied it to better purpose than he. "The Americans surpass all other nations in their power of making the best of bad conditions, getting the largest results out of scanty materials or rough methods."

The great, universal, all-powerful corrective which he finds everywhere and always at work to force law into harmony with society and with justice is public opinion, and he gives a dozen chapters to its nature and effect. It is a source of authority which he finds pure and wholesome. Government by public opinion, if not already a fact, is certainly "the goal toward which the extension of the suffrage, the more rapid diffusion of news, and the practice of self-government itself, necessarily lead free nations; and it may even be said that one of their chief problems is to devise means whereby the national will shall be most fully expressed, most quickly known, most unresistingly and cheerfully obeyed. Delays and jerks are

avoided, friction and consequent waste of force are prevented, when the nation itself watches all the play of the machinery and guides its workmen by a glance. Towards this goal the Americans have marched with steady steps, unconsciously as well as consciously. No other people now stands so near it."

The sentences which we have quoted in this brief review will indicate the free, clear, vigorous style in which the book is written. It is full of the truest political philosophy, conveyed in a sparkling and yet straightforward way, which lends it a charm that few philosophers have been able to command. Without the sustained elevation of diction that one finds in *De Tocqueville*, the *American Commonwealth* gives a more life-like picture of the scene.

Occasionally some slight inaccuracy of statement may be observed, into which an American might not so readily have fallen, as where he states (vol. i., page 263), that the courts in 1876 refused to entertain proceedings to enjoin the President against executing the Reconstruction Acts, or (vol. ii., page 486) says that "any lawyer can practice in any Federal Court," or (vol. ii., page 526) alludes to Yale College as established at New Haven in 1700. These and other similar errors deserve mention only as an occasion of surprise that there are not more and greater ones, and may in part be due to the negligence of the proof-reader, which is attested by many obvious misprints.

We cannot close without referring to the kindly augury which is drawn of our political future. A time of trial is to come, greater than any yet sustained except that of the civil war. It is the time when there will be no longer cheap land and easy tillage in the West. It will be reached by the next generation. Wages will fall; the price of food rise; pauperism will spread from city to country. What then? "There may be pernicious experiments tried in legislation. There may be occasional outbreaks of violence. There may even be, though nothing at present portends it, a dislocation of the present frame of government. One thing, however, need not be apprehended, the thing with which alarmists most frequently terrify us: there will not be anarchy. The forces which restore order, and main-

tain it, when restored, are as strong in America as anywhere else in the world."

It might be added that the forces which constitute order in the United States, and maintain it, when constituted, are also as strong as anywhere. The guaranties of a written Constitution protect the citizen and his property against the government; and the government has no other purpose than to protect him and his against injustice and violence. As we look across the Atlantic and see the rough hand with which parliament can unsettle vested rights and destroy titles, in the vain effort to quiet Ireland by conceding what she does not ask, we may well be proud of the series of amendments which have lifted our Constitution into a protection to individual rights against all attack, even though it be made under the guise of law. .

SIMMON E. BALDWIN.

ARTICLE II. — HIGH CHURCH CONGREGATIONALISM.

THE term High Churchman is commonly limited to Episcopalians. This is natural, as it originated among them. I am not learned in the origin and development of the phrase, but I suppose that Churchman is earlier than High Churchman. Churchman, of course, meant one who adhered to the national Church, dissent from which being regarded as schismatical was held to deprive dissenters of the right to call themselves churchmen, just as Confederates were not allowed by us as Unionists, because we did not allow that their union was legitimate. And a High Churchman would be simply one who was very intense, on whatever grounds, in his opposition to dissenters. Thus, Elizabeth—in this sense, which, though the term is later than her time, I take to have been the original one—was in reality a very High Churchwoman, not because she cared particularly about the episcopal succession, but because she was thoroughly bent on maintaining national unity in religion.

But the most compendious method, in a time when various systems of church polity were striving for the mastery, was for each to maintain that its own way had a specific and exclusive Divine sanction. The Presbyterians, in this derivative sense, were the first High Churchmen, Thomas Cartwright having been, as described by Green, a singularly intense one. Beza, too, is quoted somewhere as having discontentedly muttered that England might almost as well not be Protestant as not be Presbyterian. Therefore the earliest contention of the Episcopalians that their system is specifically and exclusively legitimate, appears to have been in good measure a reaction against the exorbitant claims of Presbyterianism.

The Episcopalians, however, had an advantage over the Presbyterians, which they soon pushed. The latter could not deny the Anglican ordinations, since bishops are undoubtedly presbyters. But, once provoked by the Presbyterians, how could the Anglicans fail, being human, to fall back on the tradition of so

many ages, that a bishop only is competent to ordain presbyters? It is true, the Anglican succession has come through a knot-hole, and Rome pronounces it to be "at the least exceedingly doubtful." Yet the Utrecht succession has also come through a knot-hole, and there are no misgivings, on any hand, as to the genuineness of that. If a knot-hole is large enough to admit a thread, the continuousness of the thread is not broken. Therefore Anglican High Churchmanship soon came to imply that peculiar and inordinate stress on the episcopal succession which distinguishes it to this day.

High Church, therefore, seems to be capable of three stages of meaning. First, an exalted sense of the claims of a national church. Secondly, the contention that a particular church system is of exclusive New Testament legitimacy. Thirdly, the ordinary Episcopalian position, that episcopal ordination alone, in the historical line, is ascertainably valid.

Of course the phrase, "High Church Congregationalism," must bear the second of these three senses. How far it was High Church at the beginning, I do not know, not being learned in its *origines*. But, as I understand, it appeared from the first in this form: Christ has given to every covenanted congregation of believers the full competency to provide for all the ministries and functions of the Christian life. Yet this proposition, so far, is not High Church. It lacks the negative boundary on the other side, namely, that every authoritative association of two or more congregations is anti-scriptural and illegitimate. The affirmative proposition does not imply the negative. It is really only a restatement of Christ's own promise: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." For where Christ is, there, surely, is the fulness of spiritual prerogative, to every company that is really met in his name, and not in factious divisiveness. This evidently confirms a reserved right to every company of Christians, great or small, to evacuate an older order, and institute a new one, when it is plain that the elder order has exhausted its present power to nourish their spiritual life. But this does not imply that the Church can only legitimately exist in a congeries of independent congregations. Assume this negative position and add it to the positive side of

the thesis, and you have, undoubtedly, High Church Congregationalism.

Very probably Robert Browne stated his great deduction in this High Church form. It may have been needed in self-defence. But the life of Congregationalism did not lie in that. It lay in the rediscovery of what Mr. Hatch calls the right of free association, which he says was not effectively slain in the Church until the middle of the third century, when that excellent but overbearing Churchman, Cyprian, carried through the condemnation of the Novatian congregation at Rome as schismatical. Luther, as Dr. Schaff shows, grasped this principle at first, but not being able at that time to manage it, let it drop, and confined himself to the reassertion of the universal priesthood of believers in the universal church. Its independent rediscovery by Browne, and practical realization by his successors, was a momentous and auspicious event. In some respects it may almost be called a second Reformation. It opens an easy door of escape to those many Christians who previously, under a superstitious dread of a fictitious definition of schism, had been languishing under the bondage of corrupt or lumbering systems of church authority, and thus has opened many a spiritual dungeon to the free breath of an unfettered life. True, the moderated Anabaptists of the continent had doubtless already enjoyed the reality of it, and helped to confirm it in England, as their successors have ever been the purest of Congregationalists. But they have been so absorbed in another direction, that it has been reserved for the Congregationalists proper to bring their system to a recognized correlative with Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, and to make New England, on the side of associated Christian life, no ineffective compeer of Geneva, and not overmuch inclined to veil the crest even to Canterbury. And though Methodism arrogates to itself the especial honor of being the champion of Protestantism against Rome, there may be those who think that the centralized administration of its principal form, and various other peculiarities, involve possibilities of betrayal as well as of defence. But no one sees in Congregationalism any possibilities of betrayal. We see only an elastic freedom which weakens Italian domination by a sort of irresistible contagion. Methodism and

Jesuitism have been compared before now, and may be compared again, both on their good and evil sides. But thus far Jesuitism and Congregationalism have remained terms most widely disparate.

But though the assertion of a reserved right in the Church, after so many centuries of desuetude, requires, or may require, large and long-continued exemplification in distinct families of Christian churches, and doubtless its permanent exemplification in some, it by no means follows that a reserved right must be a constantly and universally asserted right. Then it would not be a reserved right. It is not involved in the nature of a spring that it should be always in action. Congregationalism is the strong assertion of State rights. States have rights, and inalienable rights, and he is a most imperfect Unionist who denies it. For how can there be a true Union without integral realities to unite? But most of us will allow that national unity has rights also. A simple "league of perpetual friendship" doubtless better befits the churches than the States. But the common guidance of common interests, even among the churches, often requires something closer than a league.

Here is the question. The Spirit of Christ, in the first century, fashioned the Church into such forms as suited her necessities. Has not the Spirit of Christ the same prerogatives in all the following centuries? There are certain principles of indefeasible validity, because without them the Christian life cannot actualize itself. But as every variation of the human form is legitimate which allows an easy realization of the specifically human life, so every variation of church form which allows an easy realization of the specifically Christian ends must, by that very fact, be acknowledged as legitimate. One might think that this would secure universal acknowledgment as self-evident. And so no doubt it would, but for the heavy clouds of hereditary prejudice which have hung over us ever since the days of mediæval traditionalism, when the system that prevailed, because it had prevailed so long, was assumed to be exclusively Divine. But we are slowly learning, that if we could restore the exact form of the Apostolic Church, we should, by that very fact, prove ourselves unapostolic. *Duo faciunt cum idem, non est idem.* The apostles, should they

return in the nineteenth century, would assuredly approve a widely different form of the Church from that, or rather those, which they superintended in the first. This applies equally to forms of doctrine, forms of worship, forms of administration, forms of life.

This position, that the indwelling Spirit shapes the outward form, is radically incompatible with High Church theories of every kind. The late Thomas Carlyle, of Edinburgh, an Apostle of the Catholic Apostolic movement, states our view with perfect clearness, and then disdainfully rejects it. And on the other hand, my friend and teacher, the late Rev. James A. Thome, states the opposing theory thus, on behalf of Congregationalism, in exact accordance with Carlyle, though in advocacy of a very different system. Christ, he says, has given the Church a soul, of regenerate life, and action, and has also prepared for her a body, which that soul is to inhabit, the body, in this case, being Congregationalism. Now if we find the body without the soul, or the soul in another body, we have not the true church order. In the former case, we have entire ineffectiveness; in the latter case a lamed effectiveness, the soul imprisoned in an incongruous body. These results are implied (though not fully developed) in his theory that the Church is bidden to seek a body contained in the command of Christ, independently of the soul that is given by the inspiration of Christ.

This is surely a very mechanical view, wholly opposed to scientific apprehensions of the correlative origin of body and soul. And Professor Thome ultimately seems to have let it drift. Practically, it is enough to answer, that in all sorts of church forms we find an effectiveness that is no more lamed than in Congregationalism, that is equally productive and abundantly flexible. How then can it be pretended that Congregationalism is the only legitimate body of the Church? And how can it be maintained that only in Congregationalism can the Church find her best organs of activity, irrespectively of historical growth, national character, and unartificial promptings of the Spirit of Christ? Endeavor to propagate living Christianity, using Congregational church history, or any other, to remove hindering preconceptions, and surely the Church

will find all that she needs, and doubtless may often come out into a substantially Congregational form. But undertake to propagate Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism, or Anglicanism, as a distinct entity, and you never know what will come out of it. For the form of administration is merely one element, and presumably not the chief element, going to make up the life of a body of Christian churches in any particular country or time. To propagate a polity, as a substantial interest, seems like an attempt to establish a particular complexion, or stature, or accent, in a particular country, as if these would not settle themselves naturally, out of the conditions of race and climate, and as if the attempt to superimpose particular habits of action, proceeding from without, could ever fail to embarrass a healthy development from within. Such efforts are often very valuable, as a first stimulus. Beyond that they are depressing, nay deadening.

Cardinal Capeceletro, Archbishop of Capua, the latest biographer of St. Philip Neri, remarking on the rigorous Independence of polity which Philip has established in the Rule of his illustrious institute of the Oratory, suggests, that this is the reflection, in the religious sphere, of the cherished municipal independence of the founder's beloved Florence. But it would not have occurred to the saint or his biographer that there was anything specially divine in the form of his institute above widely different forms of religious rule, suggested by very different personal and civil conditions. Congregationalists, I think, can afford to allow that the Lord Christ is as supremely wise in his coördinations of variety in unity, as the Roman bishop.

This illustration of Neri and Florence is quite in point, for early church-polity grew much more distinctly than any monastic or semi-monastic rule out of civil forms. Every fresh research into the origins of the Church shows more convincingly the truth of what Stanley says, that the heavenly contents of the gospel adapted themselves with unrestrained ease to whatever forms of public life they found existing.

This is illustrated alike on the side of Jewish and of Gentile Christianity. Municipal independence was not characteristic of Palestinian life, and it formed no prominent note of Palestinian Christianity. The church of Jerusalem, its elders and

its head, Christ's brother James, alone appear as summing up the church of the Circumcision, in its dealings with the Gentile brethren. And as Judaism was very strong in Egypt, just the same character of polity is found impressed on the Egyptian Church. The twelve presbyters of Alexandria and their bishop (showing their Jewish origin in their number) governed all the congregations of Egypt until about the year 190. And although then the Gentile polity of municipal distinctness established itself in Egypt, it remained a form without a force. To this day no Coptic bishop can ordain except by special commission from the patriarch. Synesius of Ptolemais, though hardly so far restricted as this, yet could not consecrate his own suffragans, but had to send them to Alexandria. And at this day the Abyssinian Abuna, sent from Alexandria, and alone having true episcopal functions, is, with all his barbarism, the genuine historic representative of the episcopate of James the Lord's brother. No form of Congregationalism has ever had force in Egyptian Christianity or its dependencies, because the civil foundation was lacking for it, and was equally lacking to the mother-church which planted it. Yet the Church of Egypt was as entirely legitimate and apostolic as the churches in Greece and Macedonia.

These churches, and those of Asia Minor, and of the Roman West, were, on the contrary, distinct from each other in government. The presbytery, or collective episcopate, of each church, and in the second or third generation its individual bishop, was a separate centre of rule. One church was not subject to another, and for some considerable time the lesser churches were not even subordinate to the greater, though doubtless always deferential to them. Distinctness of government and gradation of rank were the two features of Græco-Roman municipal life, and these two features are ultimately found reflected in ecclesiastical life, in almost as exact a correspondence, through all the shades of variation, as between a landscape and its image in a lake. This is all natural and legitimate. But how strange, to insist that features of church life which originated in particular forms of civil life, are any more eminently revealed from God than any other forms! When the bases of civil life are shifted, it is natural and right, that the

forms of church-life should accommodate themselves to the fact. Each individual's Christianity, though supernatural in origin and aim, is, or ought to be, natural and national in form. And the same is true of collective Christianity.

As municipal distinctness of church government, concentrated in municipal distinctness of Episcopacy, never had any force in Palestinian and Egyptian Christianity in the South-east, so it never had even a form in Gaelic Christianity, in the Northwest. The Gaelic Church accepted the Episcopate, because, as St. Augustine says, the practice of the Church had fixed its distinctness. But it had really no need of it. The bishop was properly a city pastor. But the Gael did not depend on cities. They hardly had them. Their unit was the tribe, or perhaps the sept. And as their church was intensely monastic and ascetic, the Abbots, who, by force of their office, commonly remained simple presbyters, reduced the bishops to mere wandering Levites, simple ordaining machines. Except for tradition's sake and the wish to be on terms with the Church of the Empire, the whole episcopal order might have disappeared out of Gaelic Christianity, and this would never have known the difference. Here was a third form of the Church, radically distinct from either the Egyptian or the Roman, yet equally legitimate. It collapsed at length, it is true. But this was only because the tribal system itself collapsed, and carried down the Gaelic church with it. It may be questioned, however, whether its decided disposition to prefer presbyters to bishops has not been an underlying power in making Scotland the classic land of Presbyterianism. Here, for generations, it is clear that Presbyterianism had a specific Divine right, as for generations it is clear that Congregationalism had in New England. Those foolish Anglicans who try to make out the Scotch or New Englanders schismatics, because they preferred another form of national unity in religion to that of Elizabeth Tudor, deserve about as much attention as so many chattering parrots.

There does seem to issue from all this one principle of Divine right, namely: that form of the Church, in any place and time, has eminently the approval of Christ, which, most eminently expressing the natural genius of the people, most effectively

advances it in Christian excellence and activity. This is a *Jus Divinum* which is not lightly to be tampered with. And any other *Jus Divinum* is a very equivocal and shadowy thing.

We must distinguish here between two things which are often confused, but which are deeply distinct, namely, Sacerdotal theories and High Church theories. Sacerdotalists may hold very flexible notions of polity, and intense High Churchmen may be wholly free of sacerdotalism, as non-episcopalian High Churchmen, of course, always are. The only vital doctrine of apostolic succession rests upon the assumption, that the uninterrupted episcopal line is the channel of supernatural graces, which are spilled by a break, exactly like waters by a break in an aqueduct. If bishops are simply appointed to govern, then the question whether their ordinations are continuous or not is of no essential importance. Methodist bishops govern even more effectively than Anglican. And, on the other hand, among the Roman Catholics, episcopal authority often exists without episcopal order, and episcopal order without episcopal authority. In this Article, of course, I am treating only of polity, and in no way of sacerdotalism. Dr. Samuel Miller's theory, that there can be no valid ministry without an unbroken series of presbyteral ordinations, entirely divorced as I take it to be from the theory of sacramental graces flowing through these lines, is to be regarded as merely one of those absurdities of formalism to which certain minds gravitate by an invincible necessity.

Some gentleman writes in a Congregational journal, not long since, to the following effect, and almost in these very words: "We are pushing our apostolic polity in the Northwest, just as Paul and his companions pushed it in Asia Minor and Greece eighteen hundred years ago."

These words give much matter for meditation. What would St. Paul have said, if he had been told that he was propagating a Polity? I conceive that the term, and the thing, would have been wholly unintelligible to him. He did, indeed, possess a *politeia*, which for its great usefulness and dignity he highly valued, namely, his Roman citizenship. And he avows himself to own a *politeuma*, but declares it to be seated in heaven, whither, it is to be hoped, the shadows of church contentions

below will not pursue us. But in what other sense did he know anything about a *polity*? That man who was so swallowed up in preaching the one subject of the atoning death and regenerating grace of Christ that he allows himself to speak in seeming disparagement even of Baptism, would assuredly have been still more disdainfully impatient of any attempt to call off his mind to such an unintelligible nonentity as Polity would have been to him. He gathered churches, of course, for the very nature of the regenerate life drew believers together. That those brethren in each place who were recognized as especially qualified to lead, should have been solemnly commended to the grace of God for higher endowment, is equally implied in the nature of the gospel. That in process of time these distinct congregations should have each concentrated its activity in a central pastorate, seems equally natural and beneficial. But that any or all these things, which so evidently rest on a spontaneous activity of the Christian life, or on a spontaneous appropriation of usual forms of life at large, were, in the mind of Paul, or of any apostle, bodied forth in the conception of a Polity, as a distinct reality, and specific interest, to be pushed as Congregationalism is now pushed by ardent partisans in the Northwest, appears to many of us an absolute perversion of idea. It resembles, though with mitigation, the early efforts of the Judaizers to impugn the regularity, or even the validity, of St. Paul's apostolate, which differed so widely in its form from the antecedent embodiments of the apostolic character.

Which are nearer each other, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, or Congregationalists and Jews? Congregationalists and Presbyterians, of course. But Jews, though by a road entirely their own, have become in later ages even stancher Congregationalists than the Baptists themselves. They may claim "the apostolic polity" in its purity. But we shall be told that the apostolic polity is a very trifling thing, where the apostolic faith is wanting. Doubtless it is a very trifling thing, besides not being, in any proper sense, an apostolic thing. But if it is so trifling a thing, relatively, to the substance of Christian faith, why should its propagation be made a matter of desire, or effort, or longing? "God forbid that I should glory," says St. Paul, "save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is to

be feared that Paul will be, after all, convicted of not having been so energetic in pushing "our apostolic polity" as he is declared to have been. Had he been as zealous as some of our modern propagandists, he might, indeed, have still denied that we are saved by Christ and Circumcision, but would have shown a weak side towards the opinion that we are saved by Christ and Congregationalism.

Has this consequence been evolved by modern propagandists? It appears to have been by some. This extreme seems most pronounced among Scottish Congregationalists, in accordance with what I have heard wittily described as a peculiarity of the Scottish mind, namely, that it finds it difficult to distinguish a great principle from a small. Davie Deans, with his unwearied testifyings against right-hand backslidings and left-hand defections, of every size and shape, is a true type of his nation, as it has developed itself under the order introduced at the Reformation. A certain Celtic rigor of logic and vehemence of temper, infused into the Scandinavian strength of Scotland, have doubtless assisted. John Knox, turned Congregationalist, would unquestionably be a very uncompromising one. And I have seen a whole series of Congregationalist tracts, issued from Hamilton, Canada, and thoroughly instinct with the Scottish genius, the whole tenor of which seems to be only this, that any one who fails to join a Congregational church is outside of the covenant of salvation.

But does American Congregationalism ever go so far? Hardly. American good nature and brotherliness are against it. And hitherto the spirit of Christian brotherhood, I do not hesitate to say, has been more redundant and controlling within the American Congregational churches than within any other denomination of general note in the whole land. The temper of Congregationalism in our country during the first half of the century was that of a noble carelessness of Catholicity. This was a true development from its earlier history, and any apostasy from it will contradict the whole meaning of that history. Yet I have seen some expressions within a few years in Congregational publications of high authority, which, if they mean anything, mean that only Congregationalists are in the kingdom of heaven. What else, for instance, does it mean

when, on looking into an announcement like this: "Ten Denominations United in Christ," we find it to mean: "Nine Denominations Swallowed by Congregationalism"? Plainly, Congregationalism is here identified with Christ. Then it results, that whoever is outside of Congregationalism, is outside of Christ. And how is it when some one, considering the question, whether Germans can be Congregationalized, asks whether Germans cannot be converted, and, as no one will deny this, triumphantly assumes that the affirmative of the former question is proved? But it is not proved unless conversion necessarily implies Congregationalism.

Doubtless such writers, if pressed with their own words, would insist on being taken as they mean, and not as they say. And what they mean is, to exalt their own church-system by an extravagance of eulogy mounted on rolling phrases which cannot be brought to a stand until they have reached a point of significance beyond that at which the intention of the writers made pause. But people must give up using this style of speech, if they do not want to be made responsible for what it implies. And when it is said in a public meeting of Association, as I have heard it said beyond the Mississippi, that such and such a former Congregationalist has become an "apostate," meaning that he has joined a Presbyterian church, I do not say that such a style of speaking will ultimately bring Congregationalists to deny that Presbyterians are in a state of salvation, but it leads that way. To be sure, perhaps, a more likely result is, to discharge "apostate" of all its meaning. Then we might conceive a church-letter drawn up in this style: "Reverend and Beloved: whereas Brother John Jones is disposed to become an Apostate, this is to commend him to your Christian care and fellowship." And we may expect to hear some pupil of a Congregational school outdoing Gibbon in the rehabilitation of Julian by explaining that he was called Apostate because he had joined a Presbyterian church.

No: these people will not be brought to believe that Presbyterians and Methodists are not Christians. They will simply be brought to feel and act towards them as if they were not.

But, it may be asked, have not Congregationalists a right to follow general Christian ends according to their own ancestral

methods, and in special connection with the New England churches? Unquestionably. People work with least friction in the lines of old habit. But in this case their particular polity is an accident. The extension of the Christian salvation is the reality. And if multitudes are famishing for thirst, we never think of the shape, or color, or material of the vessel which we chance to have snatched up to fill with water for their relief. If others are already ministering to them out of other vessels, cheap or costly, large or small, we do not push these aside and insist on commending to the sufferers the pattern or preciousness of the cups that we hold. We simply turn to others whose wants have not yet been supplied. In easy times we might let these very vessels figure in a competitive exposition of bric-à-brac; but not where issues of life and death are impending. It was vastly greater differences than those of church-administration which were involved when St. Paul was in Rome. The distinction between himself and the Judaizers was substantially that now existing between Catholicism and Protestantism. Yet Paul had learned to thank God if only Christ was preached, with however much intermixture of ritualistic rubbish and partisan opposition towards a freer gospel. If, in the serenity of apostolic old age, even this great difference had shrunk so much in his mind in comparison with the unity of faith in the one Name, we cannot imagine mere forms of the church as dwelling in his mind at all, except so far as a concrete necessity might now and then require a concrete solution.

It is curious, but the very people who extol Congregationalism as "our apostolic polity," "the pattern shown in the mount" (a phrase which I have heard publicly used), any defection from which may be appropriately branded with the dreadful name of "apostasy," and who, in a land over which the waves of superstition and atheism are rolling, are not ashamed to solicit the painfully afforded penny of the poor with the avowed end of preaching Congregationalism, coördinately with Christ, are nevertheless greatly disturbed by violations of comity, on the part especially of Presbyterians and Methodists. And doubtless these two denominations have the advantage of them in their compacter organization. When the iron and the

earthen pot swim together, it is unlucky for the earthen one. But what right has High Church Congregationalism to talk about Comity? It is hard to see how it is entitled either to require it or to offer it. It is true, *dissidium jejunii non impedit consonantiam fidei*. But according to this scheme, Congregationalism is precisely what so many Anglicans maintain the Episcopate to be, an original and essential constituent of the deposit of faith. Then of course Methodists and Presbyterians are propagating a specifically inferior and defective form of Christianity. True, even towards these forbearance and courtesy may be shown. If we meet a man in the harvest-field who has lost an arm, and perhaps a leg, we certainly acknowledge his claim on our compassion. But if, in a press of work, we can find a man with all his limbs to put in his place, we should claim our right. And if, in the urgency of the spiritual harvest at the West, Congregationalists alone preach a perfect and rounded gospel, then, though they may still owe courtesy to non-congregational Christians, they have no right to offer them Comity. Only if, as Paul implies in writing to the Philippians, Christ is so incomparably superior to all the apprehensions or misapprehensions of his people concerning Him, that these sink out of sight where He is concerned, only then can there be any talk of Comity. But this of course cuts up by the root all High Church pretensions of every denomination. This apostolically ratified principle, it is true, would carry us much farther than to the condemnation of the triangular competition between Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians at the West. But it would certainly condemn this.

I do not mean to say that it is absolutely wrong to propagate Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism, or Episcopacy. If we can suppose the master of a hundred millions to be a Christian (and, as our Saviour says, the things that are impossible with men are possible with God) and such a one is disposed to cultivate Congregationalism, as another rich man cultivates majolica, or postage stamps, of course there can be no objection to his indulging in this harmless bit of luxury, first discharging his conscience as to all the claims of essential Christianity upon him, and taking every precaution not to allow his special fancy

to be pursued in any locality where Mammon or Atheism is at desperate issue with Christ. He might plant a tract, like the Happy Valley of Rasselas, into which he could easily entice a considerable number of people who were deeply devoted to Congregationalism and moderately so to Christianity, and perhaps by this harmless dispenditure of surplus wealth might even relieve the working church of burdensome and unassimilable material. Indeed, a zoölogical preserve of *various* species of sectarianism might not be any less admissible than a Japanese village. But when a world is lying in wickedness, and when all the inequalities of pagan self-seeking press upon Christendom, and still find apostles and defenders in the seats of Christian culture, it really does seem most pitiful business to set earnest men and women to such observance of phylacteries as is implied in the endeavor to propagate that mere shell known as a form of church government. So far as it is not a shell, but grows out of some good thing deeper than itself, then all that is important in it is secured if we maintain the right of that deeper thing to manifest itself incidentally in this exterior way.

I am aware that I have rather slid off from the consideration of High Church Congregationalism to that of the system as it principally appears at the West, in its form of simple Sectarianism, a propagandism without the dignity of principle. In this respect it is no worse than other systems, but after an experience of five or six years I am wholly unable to pronounce it essentially better. I do not mean, of course, that most of the churches of the nearer or farther West owe their existence to any artificially incited instinct of proselytism. Most of them, of every form, are natural crystallizations of believers in Christ, associated according to familiar forms, or forms with which they have easily become familiar. But unhappily there is an unexpended residue of effort which goes distinctly and avowedly to the building up, not of the kingdom of Christ, but the kingdom of Congregationalism, or of whatever else it may be. And this is then obliged to excuse itself before the Christian conscience by putting forth claims which, if they are not hollow, really mean that everything outside of itself is an essentially mutilated and defective gospel.

Sectarianism is the mother, rather than the daughter of High Churchmanship. For instance, the question of polity was hardly raised, hardly had a meaning in Catholicism, until the Reformation. Thus, whether the bishop and presbyter are two orders or one, whether episcopal superiority, or even the papacy, is of Divine or human right, whether the pope has a universal bishopric or only a supreme archbishopric, how far national churches have indefeasible national rights, whether the papacy and the Roman bishopric are or are not inseparable, were leisurely debated, but rather as a theological luxury than as necessary to be decided. That which exists in conscious strength, is not apt to be too much troubled over the theory of its own existence. But vulgar proselytism does need some show of higher dignity wherewith to cover its nakedness.

Congregationalism, however, has one peculiar glory: it may spread far and wide, but it cannot be effectively propagated without ceasing to be itself. The Greek cities, in their municipal distinctness, extended themselves, of their own unconscious force, from Sinope to Marseilles. But had the Greeks abstracted this municipal autonomy as a substantive principle, the propagation of which was to be the salvation of the world, and compacted themselves into a unity, represented by triennial councils, assisted by usurping Amphictyonies, soon claiming authority to decide as to the legitimacy of municipal magistracies, and to supervise pretty much all that was done in the world of Hellas, then this new federal commonwealth might have been a very excellent thing, and might have received many admirable features of the elder order into itself. But it would certainly have been something else than that elder order. Once make Congregationalism a denomination, and if you have not killed it, you have hopelessly scotched it. Nothing is funnier than to see the Presbyterian spirit of the founders of Massachusetts Bay resuming its rights, and yet testing the phrases of genuine and original Congregationalism to see how far they can be stretched without snapping. The present writer, however, freely avowing a defect of metaphysical power, would rather turn to the more palpable and easily resolvable problem of how many souls can dance on the point of a cambric needle.

But are these unfruitful questions, and tenth-rate aims, to be extended to the heathen world? It seems they are. Hitherto Congregationalists have been content to say that Japan needs the gospel of Christ. This must be carried to it. Everything else the quick apprehensions and eager energies of its people can easily secure. And really, if there are newly converted people anywhere in the world who can be trusted to care for Christian interests in forms of their own activity, borrowing just so much or so little from foreign usage as they are inclined, it is the Japanese. One would think that when an Hellenic form of church administration, accepted by the apostles but nowhere enjoined, re-emerges after near two thousand years, under the partisan exegesis of a time of stress, in England, to be profoundly modified there, is then transported to New England, to undergo all the sharp local differentiations of her necessities, and then emigrates to the interior, to become no one yet knows exactly what, it would have by this time pretty well worn off the gloss of imagined sacredness. It might surely then be left in peace, when conveyed to Japan, to find its affinities, and to resolve itself into any new composite which might in the judgment of these new brethren best serve the great end to which all these merely instrumental ends are but as the small dust of the balance. And these brethren do actually meet together, of their own motion, with other brethren, of identical doctrine, worship, and principles of Christian living, and of closely related methods, and prepare to unite their forces under a scheme which does honor to all that is peculiar to each company. Unity is the great need, and unity is attained under a plan which allows the Congregationalist to be still a Congregationalist, and the Presbyterian still a Presbyterian. It may be that the scale would ultimately turn somewhat more heavily to the Presbyterian side. What if it should? Is there reason to believe that the angels would shed one tear over such a thing? Are we to suppose that the large-hearted Congregational Christians of America would lose their interest in the evangelization of Japan if it were uncertain whether the souls brought in might not possibly hear the name of John Knox five times where they heard that of John Robinson three? In either event they would be brought up in vital

godliness, sound doctrine, evangelical freedom, and manly care of their own affairs. And American Christians must needs throw an apple of discord into the feast of their happy union ! Yet why should we wonder ? Is it not an apostle who says, even of his own fellow-laborers : “ For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ’s ” ?

I know it is said that Mr. Neesima disapproves of this new arrangement. It is easy to say so. It is not to be supposed that its details are beyond criticism. And it is sagacious to endeavor to cover the unhandsomeness of sectarian interference under the name of this admirable man, whose natural modesty, and reluctance to fall out with old friends, will probably keep him from contradicting this assertion, particularly in his precarious condition of health. But the outcry was anterior to this assumption of Mr. Neesima’s dissent. It would be uncharitable to say that the opponents of this happy scheme of union are copying Beza, and feel that it is hardly worth while for Japan to become Christian unless she can be Congregational too. But the comparison will suggest itself, though it needs to be greatly tempered in the application. Those, however, were the golden days of American Congregationalism, when she cared little whether or not she was dissolved in outward form, if only she could be found to rise again in that sweet and strong spirit of Christ which the fathers brought hither.

In the Episcopal Church, a large majority of the clergy hold strongly to the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, as something the defect of which destroys the regularity, or even the validity, of a church-order. But no clergyman can be brought to account for rejecting this theory, which we know to have been rejected by many great Anglican divines in almost every generation since the consecration of Parker. High Church and Low Church fight vigorously, but in Convocation and Convention each knows his own standing to be perfectly safe. And even the mischance of an indecent rebuff from an overbearing bishop disturbs the whole country. This is the way the Apostolic Succession behaves. Does the Apostolic Polity do as well ? Until lately we should unhesitatingly have said, Yes. But an extraordinary occurrence, some years back, in a Boston Association, makes me hesitate. My voucher is

the Rev. Frederic Palmer, rector of Christ Church, Andover, who was then a member of the Association, and who authorizes me to use his name. A member of the body, who had left better prospects elsewhere for very much worse in Congregationalism, on account of his preference for it, had to read a paper on the choice of the seven. He incidentally remarked, that the apostles were guided by wisdom for their present need, but that he did not suppose that they meant to establish a norm for the church of all ages—an opinion, I may remark, respecting the Diaconate, which is freely allowed in both the Episcopal and the Roman Catholic Churches. As soon as he had ended, a leading clergyman of the Association rose, and remarked, that the brother must certainly see the impropriety of his remaining any longer in a Congregational body. He hoped he would not, being only one, compel his brethren to resign their membership, and thus break up the Association. A second leading clergyman supported the first, and thus it went round, a small fraction only, Mr. Palmer says, venturing on a feeble defence. Note, the essayist had not said a word impugning the most exclusive theory of High Church Congregationalism. He had merely propounded a variant opinion respecting a subordinate point. He sat astounded under the avalanche of denunciation, but at length recovering himself ventured mildly to suggest that perhaps none of his brethren had given quite so convincing a proof of attachment to Congregationalism as he. This recalled them to a certain sense of their behavior, and the matter dropped. But imagine the stiffest Churchman from Lambeth to Sacramento proposing the virtual excommunication of another Episcopalian for maintaining that the Episcopate itself, not to say the Diaconate, is simply of human right! No wonder that of four successive scribes of that Association three have seceded into the Episcopal Church. They reasoned, or might certainly very well have reasoned, that if they must live in an atmosphere of High Church opinion, they would do well to go where Low Churchmen had ascertained rights.

But this explosion of furious folly, though happening in a Boston Association, may have been a mere unexplainable portent, from which nothing can be inferred. Yet after Dr.

Newman Smyth's installation in New Haven, a Congregational paper of the farthest West—quoted disapprovingly in the *Independent*—passing lightly over his theology, insists that it is unworthy of Congregationalism to place over one of its great churches a man who avows that he asks nothing of a particular church-polity, except that it shall work easily. Then any one who comes from another denomination ought to be required to make a solemn Act of Renunciation, and if his coming is also a return, the Act of Renunciation ought to be made likewise an Act of Repentance. Are the East and the West, as two great arms, to close and smother every man who accepts Congregationalism as a legitimate fact, but refuses to profess it as an Article of Faith? Then they ought to have begun with Hartford, for in a letter to me the late beloved Professor Karr avows himself “a Low Churchman of the most abandoned description.” Indeed, Hartford and Yale, Andover and Oberlin, and Bangor, may be expected to stand together here.

When was this poisonous seed of High Church intolerance planted in Congregationalism, this seed whose growth has since done so much to kill within it its original and proper character? Apparently somewhat before 1852. Not far from that date, and so far as I know for the first time, a violent attack was made upon those sons of New England who had left their ancestral polity for the wealthy benefices of Middle State Presbyterianism. This attack was seen to be pointed mainly at Dr. Henry B. Smith, and was accepted and resented by him as it deserved. The evil impulses then set in motion have since propagated themselves to the very shores of the Pacific, and, as we see, are now swelling to send themselves in a mischievous tide over the islands of Asia. But this spirit of arrogant assumption and greedy proselytism is so foreign to the genuine tone and noblest traditions of American Congregationalism, that it is not to be believed but that, however destructive it may be for a while, it will finally be subdued and cast out into some more congruous and congenial home.

CHARLES C. STARBUCK.

ARTICLE III.—CONWAY'S "EDMUND RANDOLPH."

Omitted Chapters of History; Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph; Governor of Virginia; First Attorney-General United States; Secretary of State. By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY, author of "Pine and Palm," "The Wandering Jew," etc. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1888.

THIS handsome volume presents the life, character, and career of one who, if tried by the highest standards, makes good his title to rank among the very ablest and permanently influential statesmen of our country, one whose efforts were directed to the highest tasks, whose career was varied and prolonged, whose fields of effort and duty were lofty and conspicuous, and whose fortune and glory it was to have laid a strong, wise, and compelling hand on the helm of our American ship of state in the first decade of her career. It is too, the portrait of a noble, engaging, and withal pathetic, personal figure and character.

The story which so well deserved to be told, is well told by Mr. Conway,—not without an evident ardent purpose to set right his subject against misjudgments and wrongs which he believes him to have suffered,—“slings and arrows of outrageous fortune”—but in frank and entire reliance on the authentic materials which he has found and gathered, and certainly for the most part with moderation of judgment and fairness of treatment towards all with whom his work and narrative deal.

The stage of national development which we have now reached, and the needs and dangers of our times, make the work of rescuing from forgetfulness the personal as well as the public lineaments of our early statesmen and leaders, specially valuable and patriotic. Hurried and absorbing as is our current life, intelligent citizens have, and ever will have, an open eye and ear for the portraits and achievements of the individual men who illustrated the early days of our Republic. Among such men, few better deserve study, for charm of personal

interest or value of public service, than the man whose fame Mr. Conway has here sought to rescue from the "conventionalized disfigurement" in which it has been left to posterity. To follow Mr. Conway in this effort turns attention to a period,—to scenes and actors,—of the highest patriotic interest to Americans.

To Edmund Randolph might be applied the language in which Mr. Burke painted his son,—“He was *made* a public creature, and had no enjoyment whatever but in the performance of some duty.” His descent was from three generations of the best blood of Virginia,—a race of high-minded, cultivated, public-spirited gentlemen, worthy to share in laying the foundations of States. His paternal grandfather was Sir John Randolph of the second generation of American Randolphs, “perhaps,” says Mr. Conway, “the only native of this country ever knighted.” His father was the close friend of Jefferson, and like him a skeptic in religion, of literary tastes, and an eminent lawyer.

The youth of Edmund Randolph was cast in days and scenes of almost unexampled charm and interest in our history. Born in 1753, he was graduated at William and Mary College at Williamsburg in 1771. His father, the king's attorney for Virginia, though doubtless sympathizing with the cause of the colonies, seems to have been unable to break his allegiance to the king, and in 1775, seeing a revolution at hand, he sailed for England with his family, where he remained until his death in 1784, leaving, as his only bequest to his son, the shadow of his apparent Toryism. Edmund, who had remained in Virginia, ardently supported the American cause, and in August, 1775, joined the military family of Washington at Cambridge as aide-de-camp. Early in 1776, at the age of twenty-three, he was chosen a delegate for Williamsburg to the Virginia Convention which met May 6 of that year, and of which Randolph was the youngest member. Here his public career may be said to have begun, and from this time until his retirement from the Cabinet of Washington, in August, 1795,—a period but little short of twenty years,—he bore a leading part in the great course of civil events which carried the country to independence and led on to the foundation of the nation by the Consti-

tution of 1789 and to the successful establishment of the government under it by the administration of Washington.

In the Virginia Convention of 1776, which numbered among its members Patrick Henry, George Mason, James Madison, Henry Lee, and the long roll of their compeers,—the flower of the intellect and character of the State, an array of talent probably never surpassed, if equalled, in any local public body in America,—young Randolph bounded to influence and favor; and became by the election of the first Legislature of the State in 1776, Attorney-General. His appearance at this time is thus described by a contemporary:

"His noble stature, his handsome face, his unfailing address, insensibly arrest the attention. . . . He spoke with a readiness, with a fullness of illustration, and with an elegance of manner and expression, that excited universal admiration." p. 38.

In the spring of 1779 he was sent to Congress at Philadelphia, and retiring from this service in October of the same year, he was again returned in 1780; but early in 1782 he repaired to Richmond to aid in inducing the State to give its consent to the impost required by Congress, and to secure their compensation to the Virginia congressmen. In connection with this service, Mr. Conway notes the interesting historical fact that in order to conciliate the Southern States which objected that their quotas of taxation as fixed by Congress were based on the enumeration of slaves, Madison induced Congress, in 1783, to adopt the rule of representing negroes, which became the rule in the Constitution of 1789. (p. 47.)

In November, 1786, Randolph was elected Governor. During the small intervals of his public employments, from his return from Washington's camp in 1775 to his election as Governor, he had assiduously pursued his profession and had reached the foremost rank at a bar then the foremost of the country, at the same time keeping in touch on all public interests with Washington, Jefferson, Henry, and Madison, and especially charging himself with the care of the legal, and to a large extent, the general, business affairs of Washington in Virginia. Among these services, the case of *Hite et al. v. Fairfax*, which involved Washington's estates, was carried by Randolph against Lord Fairfax. (p. 60.)

In 1785, he began that series of services which resulted in the convention of 1787 and the Constitution of 1789, and which gives Randolph his well-supported claim to the lofty honor of chief author of our Constitution. A conference at Alexandria and Mt. Vernon in May, 1785, on the condition of the Confederation,—of which next to nothing is now known,—was the first step. In January, 1786, he was at the head of the Virginia delegation at Annapolis to take into consideration the commercial interests of the United States.

But greater than all other services, in these first steps, was his share in overcoming the reluctance of Washington to attend the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. The correspondence on this subject which Mr. Conway's volume contains leaves no room for doubt of Randolph's agency in influencing the retired soldier to reënter public life. To his urgent judgment, acting against the advice and influence of Madison, who suggested placing Dr. Franklin in the chair of the convention, we owe the first of the two greatest factors in securing the National Constitution and a permanent government under it,—the unequalled public influence, practical wisdom, and perfect patriotism of Washington, and the intellectual and judicial greatness of Marshall. No patriotic American should be ignorant of the evidence here given which establishes this fact. (pp. 63-68.)

Well does Mr. Conway say: "The student of our constitutional history, looking back through the vista of a century, sees in the chain of causes that led to our Union two links especially salient; one was the Annapolis Convention, which convinced men representing divergent views and interests that they should unite for mutual aid; the other was the consent of Washington to attend the Philadelphia Convention, securing for its work the sanction of his powerful name. Both of these were primarily due to Randolph." (p. 62.)

There is hardly a more fascinating intellectual work than the examination of the process of growth of great results in the realm of nature or reason; but the study of so consummate a result as our Constitution—a result which excites more and more as the years of its life roll into the centuries, the admiration of foreign thinkers and nations and the confidence and gratitude of Americans,—furnishes a higher than mere intellectual interest; to us, it is a grateful and patriotic duty.

Randolph was less than thirty-four years of age when the Federal Convention convened at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787. A majority of the States—seven—were not represented until May 25. On the 29th, "the main business of the convention," in Mr. Madison's words, "was opened" by Mr. Randolph in a speech which even in the condensation of Madison's report, shows the quality and power of his mind and his complete grasp of the situation.

"He observed, that, in revising the federal system we ought to inquire, first, into the properties which such a government ought to possess; secondly, the defects of the Confederation; thirdly, the danger of our situation; and fourthly, the remedy."

He then launched upon the convention these weighty and pregnant thoughts:

"The character of such a government ought to secure, first, against foreign invasion; secondly, against dissensions between members of the Union, or seditions in particular States; thirdly, to procure to the several States various blessings of which an isolated situation was incapable; fourthly, it should be able to defend itself against encroachment; and fifthly, to be paramount to the State Constitutions."

Never since that same May 29, 1787, have the great ideas, the essential aims and circumscriptions, of our Constitution and government, as they exist at the end of a century, been more powerfully or accurately expressed and drawn than in these remarkable sentences.

After touching in their order upon the other topics suggested, "he then proceeded," in the report of Mr. Madison, "to the remedy; the basis of which, he said, must be the republican principle. He proposed, as conformable to his ideas the following resolutions, which he explained one by one,"—a series of fifteen resolutions which were at once referred to the Committee of the Whole House and were from May 30th to June 13th, the sole subject of discussion and consideration in the convention. On the latter day, the committee rose and reported to the House the result of the consideration of Randolph's propositions in the form of nineteen resolutions.

This was the first stage of the formation of the Constitution.

A close comparison of Randolph's fifteen resolutions with the nineteen wrought out by the discussions of the first two weeks of the convention, shows but few important changes.

Randolph, sharing the view of most of his associates, and of the people, had proposed that the work of the convention should consist in "correcting and enlarging the Articles of Confederation;" the resolutions of the committee declared that "a national Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary."

Randolph had proposed that the rights of suffrage in the national legislature should be proportioned to the quotas of contribution of the respective States, or to the number of free inhabitants, "as the one or the other rule might seem best in different cases;" the resolutions of the committee proposed that the rights of suffrage in the first branch should be proportioned to the whole number of *white* and free citizens and inhabitants, and *three-fifths of all other persons*, except Indians not taxed.

Randolph had proposed that the second branch of the national legislature should be elected by the first branch out of persons to be nominated by the State legislatures; the resolutions of the committee proposed that the second branch should be chosen by the legislatures of the States.

Randolph had proposed that "a national Executive be instituted to be chosen by the national legislature," without specifying its number; the resolutions of the committee proposed that the Executive should consist of one person to be chosen by the national legislature.

Randolph had proposed that "the executive and a convenient number of the national judiciary," constituting a council of revision, should have a qualified negative on all acts of national legislation, but giving an absolute negative to the national legislature on all acts of the several States; the resolutions of the committee proposed that the executive should have a qualified negative only, but that the national legislature should have an absolute negative on all laws of the States "contravening, in the opinion of the national legislature, the Articles of Union, or any treaties subsisting under the authority of the Union."

Randolph had proposed that the national judiciary should "consist of one or more supreme tribunals and of inferior tribunals to be chosen by the national legislature;" the resolutions of the committee proposed that the national judiciary should consist of one supreme tribunal to be appointed by the national legislature, with power in the national legislature, to appoint inferior tribunals.

Randolph's sixth resolution had proposed that the national legislature should be empowered "to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfil its duty under the Articles thereof;" this provision did not appear in the committee's resolutions.

On the motion in the committee for a single executive, Randolph opposed it with great earnestness on a variety of grounds reported by Mr. Madison, the most important being, apparently, that "the temper of the people was adverse to the very semblance of monarchy." He favored an executive of three members.*

On June 15th, the report of the committee, having been postponed from the 13th, "to give an opportunity for other plans to be proposed," Mr. Patterson of New Jersey, representing chiefly the opposition of the smaller States to the proportional representation of the States in the national legislature, but also the idea of limiting the work of the convention to changes in the existing frame of government, laid before the convention a "plan" of amendments to the Articles of Confederation, consisting of nine resolutions,—“a plan concerted,” says Mr. Madison,† “among the deputation, or members thereof, from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and perhaps Mr. Martin, from Maryland.”

Here arose the most brilliant and instructive debate of the convention, participated in by Randolph, Madison, Sherman, Wilson, Patterson, and signalized by Hamilton's famous first speech in the convention. The questions of a nation or a confederacy, and of the safety and autonomy of the individual States, and especially of the smaller, were the high topics in this great forensic tournament. Whoever is not familiar with these debates, on the 16th, 18th, and 19th of June, has yet to

* Madison Papers, II., 781.

† 2 Madison Papers, II., 862, note.

learn the real intellectual power, forensic and historical learning, and profound political sagacity which went to the laying of the foundation of our constitutional fabric and life. Excepting the Federalist, and in some respects not excepting even the Federalist, these debates are our most precious constitutional memorials.

On the 19th of June, the motion to postpone generally the first of Mr. Patterson's resolutions was carried by a vote of seven States to three, Maryland being divided, and the convention resumed the consideration of the committee's report. The discussion was continued until June 21st, when Mr. Gerry moved that "the proceedings of the convention for the establishment of a national government (except the part relating to the executive) be referred to a committee to prepare and report a constitution conformable thereto." A committee of five was appointed, called the Committee of Detail, and the discussion of the mode of selecting the executive was resumed and continued until June 26th, when the entire work of the convention, consisting of twenty-three resolutions, together with the propositions of Mr. C. Pinckney, offered on May 29th, and of Mr. Patterson, offered on June 15th, was referred to the Committee of Detail.

This was the second stage of the formation of the Constitution—each stage having occupied two weeks.

Comparing the twenty-three resolutions of June 26th, with Randolph's original plan and the committee's resolutions of June 13th, it is found that the only radical change consists in giving each State an equal vote in the second branch and making this branch consist of two members from each State, who shall vote *per capita*.

The supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the Union over State constitutions and laws was secured by the seventh and twentieth resolutions of June 26th, the former of which provided that the legislative acts of the national legislature made in pursuance of the Articles of the Union, and all treaties made and ratified under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the respective States, and that the judiciaries of the several States shall be bound thereby in their

decisions, "anything in the respective laws of the individual States to the contrary notwithstanding;" and the latter, that the State legislative, executive, and judicial officers should be bound by oath to support the Articles of the Union. The provisions thus expressed were not new, but only a new method of securing a result aimed at from the first by the advocates of a national government.

The resolutions of June 26th also made a new expression of the grant of judicial power to the Union, extending it generally "to cases arising under laws passed by the general legislature," as well as to "such other questions as involve the national peace and harmony." This, however, is but a modification and extension of the conception embodied in Randolph's ninth resolution, as well as in the thirteenth resolution of June 13th.

With the exceptions, therefore, of the limitation of the executive to one person, and of the equal representation of the states in the second branch of the national legislature—the latter a concession wrung from the convention by the smaller states under the express alternative of the defeat of the object of the convention—and of the mode of choosing the executive—the method adopted being an entire variance from the plan of Randolph and from the committee's resolutions of June 13th—we may say that the material of a constitution evolved by the four weeks' discussions of the convention and committed to the Committee of Detail, contained only three important departures from Randolph's plan; (1) the equal representation of the states in the second branch; (2) the single executive; and (3) the mode of choosing the executive; and of these, the first was the result of an unlooked-for conflict between the larger and smaller States, and the last, a modification of the plans equally of Randolph and of the committee.

On August 6th, the committee of detail made its report, distributing the powers and functions covered by the final resolutions of the convention into articles and sections, in the general manner observed in Mr. Pinckney's plan. Whoever diligently examines this draft or *projet* and compares it with the resolutions of June 26th and with Pinckney's "plan," will be struck with the influence of the latter not only in the form of our present Constitution but in many of its details,—de-

tails which are not only important but are deviations from and additions to the resolutions of June 26th. For example, the preamble reported by the committee of detail follows about equally the plan of Pinckney and the "sketch" of Hamilton, as it was communicated to Mr. Madison near the close of the convention ;* while in the details of the separate powers of each house of the national legislature, and of the powers of the legislature of the United States, and of the express limitations upon the States, the report follows to a striking degree the form and sequence of Pinckney's plan. The office of the committee of detail seems to have been, not merely to put in due form, order and collocation, the propositions or principles formulated by the convention, but to evolve their applications, and the specific functions of the several agencies of government required to carry into effect the ideas fixed upon by the convention. As respects the practical adaptation of the constitution to the purposes for which it was designed,—the evolution into practicability, of the propositions of the convention agreed upon June 26th,—the function and work of this committee was all-important, far more important than its title—committee of detail—naturally implies, or than is usually ascribed to this particular committee. Its work, as reported, dealt with all the subjects and powers apparently supposed to be important to an actual working plan of government. Its work was not one of redaction only but of construction; not of mere phrasing and expression, but of origination and arrangement on certain general lines already adopted by the convention.

This was the third stage of the formation of the Constitution.

The convention at once, August 7th, took up the report of the committee of detail and its discussion was continued daily, with the exception of Sundays and three secular days, till Saturday, September 8th, when a committee was appointed by ballot, "to revise the style of, and arrange, the articles which had been agreed to by the House." This committee reported September 12th in the form of a complete constitution.

This was the fourth stage of the formation of the Constitution.

* Madison papers, III, Appendix p. xvi.

Comparison of this report with that of the committee of detail, and study of the debates of the convention from August 7th to September 12th—a period of seven weeks, of which twenty-nine days were occupied in the actual discussions—show that almost every feature which had been the subject of debate in the first three stages of the formation of the Constitution, was reviewed and reconsidered at this stage. Of the latter we may specify that the report of June 13th had provided that "all bills for raising or appropriating money, and for fixing the salaries of officers of the government, shall originate in the House of Representatives," a provision which was limited by the report of September 12th to "all bills for raising revenue."

The former report gave to Congress power "to establish such uniform qualifications of the members of each House *as to property*," as to it might seem expedient. The latter report omitted this.

The former report gave the sole power of impeachment to the House of Representatives, and the power to try impeachments to the Supreme Court; the latter report vested the latter power in the Senate alone. The latter report also added to the grant of power to Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," which was contained in the former report—the very important words—"to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States"—words which all respectable authorities hold to be limitations on the taxing power of Congress.

The power of Congress to pass "uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies," was also added to the latter report.

In the former draft Congress was authorized "to borrow money, and emit bills on the credit of the United States"—but the power to emit bills of credit was omitted in the latter report.

Perhaps the change of most practical importance, in the light of our experience, effected by the latter report, was the insertion of the clause declaring that "no State shall pass laws altering or impairing the obligations of contracts."

The latter report contained the fugitive slave clause, which was not found in the former report. It also contained the provision giving power to Congress "to dispose of and make rules

and regulations respecting the territory, etc., of the United States," which was not found in the former report.

The report of September 12th provided that a vote of three-fourths of the two Houses of Congress should be necessary to pass any "order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment)." Immediately upon the coming in of the report of the committee of revision, it was moved to strike out three-fourths and insert two-thirds, and the motion was carried. The question of juries in civil cases also arose, which led to the general question of the need of a bill of rights as a preface or part of the Constitution. The motion to appoint a committee to prepare a bill of rights was lost by a tie vote. A few other amendments were debated between September 12th and 17th, when the engrossed Constitution being read, it was signed by the President, and by thirty-nine delegates of the fifty-five who had sat in the convention, representing every State except Rhode Island.

This was the last stage of the formation of the Constitution.

Three only of the members who sat until the end refused to sign, and of these Edmund Randolph and George Mason were two, Elbridge Gerry being the third.

Looking closely to the records and discussions of the convention of 1787, it is seen, we think, that the germs of the Constitution lay in Randolph's resolutions of May 29th, with the single qualification that Randolph's plan looked only to modifications and changes of the Articles of Confederation, and not to the framing of a new charter of government. The latter remark applies also to Mr. Patterson's plan. On the other hand, the plan of Pinckney manifestly, by the language of its preamble, as well as by the title given to his plan by its author—"Plan of a Federal Constitution"—contemplated a new and complete instrument to supersede the Articles of Confederation.

Such was the generation and descent—birth and growth—of the Constitution—fruit, in the large and in nearly all its items, as truly as the British constitution, of historic causes and slowly-gathered forces, blended and subdued to a mighty end, by men of unsurpassed sagacity. The mould of thought and idea

was preëminently Randolph's; the mould of style and form was largely Pinckney's.

Here it is not superfluous to remark again, as has been remarked by others*—that almost the only piece of pure invention in the way of mechanism, contained in the Constitution—the mode of electing the President and Vice-President, as originally provided and as fixed by the XIIth amendment in 1803—is almost the only part of the instrument which has failed to do its intended work; the original design being to commit the election to the independent, free judgment of the selected body of electors†—the actual result being that the election is effected by the whole people and any exercise of judgment by the electors would be treated as political usurpation, dishonorable, and a fraud on the people—a fact which impressively teaches that permanent good results in government are growths, and not off-hand contrivances; and that mere forms, as well under written as under unwritten constitutions, offer but little resistance to the definite will of a nation or people.

One can hardly name a more interesting or valuable study and result on this topic at the present time than a simple monograph, of moderate size, which should trace and exhibit the origin in the convention of 1787 of the separate provisions of the Constitution, putting into visible contrast the stages of progress of the work and pointing out the articulations which bind the whole back to the comprehensive propositions of Randolph of May 29th, 1787.

The name of Edmund Randolph is missed from the roll of signers of the Constitution on that memorable 17th day of September as, Macaulay says, Pitt was missed from "the great muster of various talents" which pressed the trial of Hastings. On repeated occasions, during the sittings of the convention, he had given expression to his poignant disapproval, as matters of policy, of conclusions reached by the convention. He

*Prof. Johnston in the *Princeton New Review*, Sept. 1887, and E. L. Godkin, in "*Hand-book of Home Rule*," p. 187.

The latter says: "The objections (of the opponents of the Constitution in 1789) covered every feature in it but one; and that, the mode of electing the President, curiously enough, is the only one which can be said to have utterly failed."

†Story on the Constitution, § 1463.

was deeply opposed to a single executive, as we have noticed. His distrust of the wisdom of the result of the work of the convention, like his illustrious colleague's, George Mason, seems to have deepened towards the close; and on September 10th, while the mode of ratifying the Constitution was under consideration, "he took," in the words of Madison's report, "this opportunity to state his objections to the system."

"They turned," he continued, "on the Senate's being made the court of impeachment for trying the Executive—on the necessity of three-fourths instead of two-thirds of each House to overrule the negative of the President—on the smallness of the number of the Representative branch—on the want of limitation of a standing army—on the general clause concerning necessary and proper laws—on the want of some particular restraint on navigation acts—on the power to lay duties on exports—on the authority of the General Legislature to interpose on the application of the *Executives* of the States—on the want of more definite boundary between the general and State legislatures—and between the general and State judiciaries—on the qualified power of the President to pardon treasons—on the want of some limit to the power of the Legislature regulating their own compensations."

He declared he believed such a system must end in tyranny. While he would not impede the wishes of the convention, he must be left free, if he were a member of the convention of his State, to act according to his judgment. The only way, he declared, to remove his objections was to submit the plan to Congress, and then to the State legislatures and State conventions having power to adopt, reject, or amend, and finally to another general convention, with power to adopt or reject amendments coming from State conventions, and to finally establish the government.

Again, on September 15th, referring to the dangerous powers granted to Congress, he expressed his pain at differing from the Convention "on the close of the great and awful subject of their labors," and reiterated his proposal for a new convention. "Should this proposition be disregarded, it would, he said, be impossible for him to put his name to the instrument. Whether he should oppose it afterwards, he would not then decide; but he would not deprive himself of the freedom to do so in his own State, if that course should be prescribed by his final judgment." *

* Madison papers, III, 1593.

On the 17th, Dr. Franklin having appealed to the members to sign, Randolph alluding to Franklin, "apologized for not signing notwithstanding the vast majority and venerable names that would give sanction to its wisdom and worth. . . . He meant only to keep himself free to be governed by his duty, as it should be prescribed by his future judgment." * Pressed again, with friendly persuasion, by Franklin, he declared that in refusing to sign, he "took a step which might be the most awful of his life; but it was dictated by his conscience, and it was not possible for him to hesitate,—much less, to change."

The IXth Chapter of Mr. Conway's book is a distinct, deeply interesting and valuable *addition* to our knowledge of the beginnings of our constitution,—a veritable "omitted chapter of history." In the true spirit of the student's quest of historical materials, he has made the "loft" of the State house at Richmond, the drawers and closets of families of his acquaintance, public and private collections of manuscripts, domestic and foreign public archives, yield up their treasures, till, as he expresses it, "the result has been an accumulation of unpublished material, the reduction of which to the dimension of this volume has been the hard part of my task." † The correspondence between Madison and Randolph in March and April, 1787, shows them each busy with thoughts of the coming convention; and Randolph sketches some features of the work as he conceives it, to which Madison replies with a like sketch of his own views. But among Randolph's papers Mr. Conway finds "a note of 7 March, 1783," in which a constitution is defined as "a compact in which the people themselves are the sole parties; delineating the degree to which they have parted with legislative, executive, and judiciary power, as well as prescribing how far each of the simple forms of government is to be pursued in acts of legislation." This definition, if duly pondered and grasped, would have saved Jefferson, and even Madison himself, in 1798 and 1800, from making themselves the virtual, though unconscious, authors of nullification and secession as constitutional instead of revolutionary dogmas, in the Kentucky Resolutions and the Virginia Report.

* Madison papers, III, 1600.

† Preface, p. 6.

But Mr. Conway has uncovered a document of far higher interest,—“the draught of a national constitution by Edmund Randolph,”—saved from the flames at the close of the Convention and preserved among the inherited papers of George Mason’s descendants. It is a precious discovery,—a paper covering nine folio pages in Randolph’s small handwriting, “evidently used,” says Mr. Conway, “in committee of detail, each item being ticketed off when disposed of.” It is filled with numerous erasures and interpolations, with notes by John Rutledge. In the vivid words of our author, “Randolph’s alterations of his draft, suggesting consultations with one and another leader, the compulsory modifications, the Rutledge notes, make this old document in some sort a composite constitution.” (p.73)

What was only less important than Randolph’s draft, a MS. paper by George Mason was found, advocating a plural executive—one of Randolph’s favorite notions. Space will not here permit any effort to present the contents of this remarkable Randolph draft; but it adds much to our knowledge of the extent of Randolph’s services in working out into details the broad system which he presented to the Convention at its opening. This document ought in some form to be known in full and to be made accessible to all students.

Of the soundness of Randolph’s objections to the Constitution there may well be more than one opinion. One thing seems quite clear; Randolph, Virginia slaveholder that he was, proposed and favored no concessions or safeguards to slavery. His resolutions in the Convention hinted at none; and his draft, as given in this volume, contained simply a restriction on the States from preventing immigration, which would have secured no privilege of slave-trading. Whoever, consciously or unconsciously, would have delimited the place and power of slavery in the original Constitution, and thus opened the possibility of its gradual desuetude and peaceful extinction, has surely a claim to prescience and gratitude, superior to those who placed slavery behind the defences of the organic law of a Republic “dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal;” unless, indeed, conceding the utter impossibility of forming the Union and the Constitution in 1789 except through the slavery compromises, we hold it the part of true statesmanship

then, as later in the Missouri compromise, to create the Union and establish its government, waiting for that stage of its growth and consolidation,—which came in 1861,—which should make certain the triumph of "Liberty and Union." If human progress takes no account of cost, if blood and treasure are not weighed, in the scales of historical Providence, against the great results to which our rational world seems to move, it may be that the slavery compromises of the Constitution are defensible. It is a question of mingled casuistry and statesmanship not too easily answered. Mr. Conway observes,—“It is melancholy to reflect that the Convention disregarded Randolph’s efforts to make the relative State and Federal powers definite and unmistakable. The clause he would have added in ink has since been written in blood.” (p. 92.)

On October 10, 1787, Randolph addressed a long letter* to the House of Delegates of Virginia in explanation of his course in the Convention and especially of his refusal to sign the Constitution. It is a fine example of the tone and bearing which becomes a public servant. In point of diction it surpasses perhaps any other of Randolph’s published productions, and is marked throughout by dignity of tone, elevated sentiment, perfect temper, and remarkable felicity of expression. In it Randolph paints with graphic pen the defects of the Confederacy and the dangerous imbecility into which the government has lapsed, though he confessed he had not regarded it as so defective when he entered the Convention. He stigmatizes its powers as “dependent on supplication alone.” With lofty spirit he describes himself as “affecting no indifference to public opinion but resolved not to court it by unmanly sacrifice of my own judgment.” He declares the Confederacy must be “thrown aside,” and setting forth the needs of the government which shall supplant it, he says:

“To mark the kind and degree of authority which ought to be confided to the government of the United States is no more than to reverse the description which I have already given of the defects of the Confederacy;” . . . “new powers must be deposited in a new body, growing out of a consolidation of the States, as far as the circumstances of the States will allow.”

* 1 Elliot’s Debates, 482.

Denouncing the idea of "partial Confederacies,"—Confederacies composed of a part of the States,—and especially a Virginia or Southern Confederacy, he exclaims,—“I am fatigued with summoning up to my imagination the miseries which will harass the United States, if torn from each other and which will not end till they are superseded by fresh mischiefs under the yoke of a tyrant.”

He urges again the reference of the Constitution to the States for amendments and the calling of a second Convention, disapproves the equality of the States in the Senate, the reëligibility of the President, and dwells long on the uncertain lines between the powers of Congress and of the States, pointing out the danger of the one being “swallowed up by the other, under cover of general words and implication.”

The Virginia Convention met at Richmond June 2, 1788, to pass upon the proposed Constitution. It was a body of unsurpassed fitness and authority for its task. In it sat Randolph, Madison, George Mason, Patrick Henry, John Marshall, and Munroe, associated with scores, literally, of other names of wide fame. Randolph, in his first speech in the Convention, explained his refusal to subscribe the Constitution and disclosed his present attitude.

“I came hither,” he said, “regardless of allurements, to continue as I have begun; to repeat my objections to the Constitution; and to concur in any practicable scheme of amendments; but I never will assent to any scheme that will operate a dissolution of the Union or any means which may lead to it.”

It was evident that his view of present duty had been not a little modified since his letter of the preceding year.

“When I withheld my subscription,” he finely said, “I had not even the glimpse of the genius of America, relative to the principles of the new Constitution.”

He steadily combatted the opposition of Henry and showed none of the inflexible, almost unreasoning, antipathy of George Mason to the new constitution. On nearly all important questions, he stood with Madison and Marshall. Twenty amendments were recommended by the convention, but on the question of making the ratification conditional upon the adoption of amendments, Randolph firmly took the side of

the friends of the Constitution, and was the author of the form of ratification finally adopted—an exquisite specimen of precision of expression and of solemn patriotic sentiment.

Randolph's course at this point, while open to easy misconstruction, was not only characteristic but consistent. He was never a *doctrinaire*; he had the just tractableness of the statesman. Persuaded that the proposed constitution was the best attainable, he resolved to vote for its ratification, without conditions, and afterward to secure, if possible, the amendments he deemed important. His deep, unwavering republicanism and patriotism in this action, are amply and vividly shown in Mr. Conway's Xth, XIth and XIIth Chapters—chapters which to the student of our constitutional history are of prime interest.

The remaining chapters of this volume relate more exclusively to the personal career and fortunes of Randolph under the new government. He became the first Attorney General. In his XVIIIth Chapter, Mr. Conway presents Randolph's attitude on the delicate and still moot topic of "State amenability" to suits in the courts of the United States. The leading and historic case of *Chisholm, ex'r. v. Georgia* (2 Dallas, 419), was powerfully argued by Randolph as Attorney General in support of the plaintiff in error, but the decision he won was met by the XIth amendment. "The temptation," says Mr. Conway, "to invest with patriotic pride a disinclination to pay debts was strong. Sovereignty, trembling at once with dignity and terror, hastened to answer the Supreme Court with the XIth amendment" (p. 173). Mr. Conway offers in the remainder of this chapter a spirited and somewhat indignant, layman's view of this question of constitutional law.

With his XXth Chapter, the history of Randolph's political relations in the cabinet of Washington begins. In the prolonged contest between Hamilton and Jefferson, Randolph did not escape criticism from each of the combatants. He alludes to this and gives a faithful glimpse of his own temper, in a letter to Washington, April 19, 1794.

"I know it, that my opinion, not containing a systematic adherence to party; but arising solely from my views of right, falls sometimes on

one side and sometimes on the other ; and the momentary satisfaction produced by an occasional coincidence of sentiment does not prevent each class from occasionally charging me with inconsistency."

On which Mr. Conway tersely comments: "Randolph's admission, at its worst, would merely show him an early 'Mugwump'!"

In 1794, Randolph succeeded Jefferson as Secretary of State in Washington's cabinet. We cannot here follow the endless, bewildering complications of our domestic politics growing out of the war between England and France, which so embittered this period, nor the equally endless feuds of Hamilton and Jefferson and their adherents. Yet no one who has followed Randolph to this point can resist the intense personal interest which his remaining career excites.

The story of Randolph's overthrow cannot be easily or briefly told. Mr. Conway has taken for it no less than 160 pages—nearly two-fifths of his volume. It is only possible here to say that a long dispatch of Fauchet, French minister at Washington, to his home government, dated October 31, 1794, was picked up at sea, March 28, 1795, having been thrown overboard from a French corvette pursued by a British cruiser. A copy of this dispatch was sent from London to the British minister at Washington and came into the hands of Col. Pickering, Secretary of War, and by him was made known to Washington.

If this incident is not intrinsically of high importance, its elucidation is perhaps the most painstaking and difficult of Mr. Conway's tasks. To the personal reputation of Randolph it is of first importance and his biographer has spared no labor or research to set it in its true relations. The story deals with so many details, and has so many ramifications and intricacies, that few will probably be qualified to pass judgment except as the result of a general impression of the matter as a whole. When it is considered, however, that the charges, so-called, against Randolph contained in this dispatch, rested wholly on the unsupported statements of Fauchet, a low-toned, gasconading agent of France under Robespierre, it is impossible not to feel that the effect produced on all the actors, in the little drama, including Washington, was quite unwarranted. A

long life of blameless eminence, devotion to Washington and his administration, attested on all occasions, patriotism proved by all tests, ought to have outweighed the flippant, self-glorifying insinuations or charges of Fauchet.

Passing over the personal indignity to which Randolph was subjected in connection with the disclosure to him of this dispatch—which is surely painful reading—the flimsiness of the charges themselves, and the total lack of proof, are the most astonishing features to recall. Chief Justice Taney truly describes Fauchet's dispatch as "containing a variety of matter—some assertions and some conjectures and speculations—very desultory—in which the passages in relation to Mr. Randolph are to be found in different places—mixed up with other matters, so as to make it difficult to understand what Mr. Fauchet meant." The impression fastened upon our mind by all that is now known, is admirably stated in Judge Taney's letter, p. 351.

Randolph upon being confronted with the Fauchet dispatch, resigned his office, August 19, 1795, and in December following published his "Vindication." He retired to Richmond, where he resumed his profession, appearing as counsel for Burr on his trial for treason in 1808. He died in 1813—not "an old man," but "broken with the storms of state."

What our author well calls the "conventionalized disfigurement" to which Randolph's memory has been subjected, is especially noticeable in the general estimate of his character which has obtained and still passes current. Jefferson in a letter to Judge Tucker in 1793 called him a "chameleon," and what that word implies has gone into history and been caught up, parrot-like, by one after another of our so-called authorities. Thus, a writer in this very centennial year of our Constitution has thought fit to say;—"His whole character was marred by a spirit of vacillation, which inclined him to temporize and compromise all dangerous political questions." *

But great as is our obligation to Jefferson and profoundly as he has affected our political thought and life, and for the most

* Charles R. Hildeburn, in *History of the Celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States*, edited by Hampton L. Carson. Vol. I. p. 213.

part in right directions, it is plain he was too often a reckless, if not a malignant, personal critic. This volume gives proof enough not only of Randolph's firm sense of public duty, but it teems with touching instances of his habitual fidelity of friendship even for those who, like Madison, seem never to have lifted a hand in his defence when the arrows were flying thickest about him, or like Jefferson, to have written and spoken of him with back-biting asperity, or above all, for Washington, towards whom Randolph kept his faith and love under the cruel weight, as he at least must have felt, of disgrace inflicted either from haste, or from prejudice carefully fanned into wrath by those who compassed his overthrow.

If, as we have already hinted, Mr. Conway's volume had no other value than as an occasion and stimulant to students and to all patriotic citizens, to revive or increase their familiarity with the formation, and with the true spirit, of our Constitution and the men who most figured in its beginnings, this would justly secure for his work our high appreciation; but he has done far more than this; he has revealed new facts of value to our constitutional history, as well as new facts essential to a true knowledge of a high name in American statemanship—a name too long and too deeply clouded by the shadow of Washington's displeasure, but at last placed by this volume in such lights as will ensure at least a more competent tribunal and, we believe, a far more favorable judgment.

DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN.

ARTICLE IV.—THE LOST CAUSE.

SEVERE criticism is sometimes leveled against Northern men for keeping alive the issues of the War of the Rebellion. We are blamed for waving bloody emblems of it and for firing the hearts of the voters by impressive reference to the facts which the great conflict made prominent. Replies to the fiery speeches of Southerners are denounced as attacks upon our countrymen.

But the Northern disposition has been and is to accept the results of the struggle with a generous sympathy for the Southern people and to let by-gones be by-gones. We are not inclined to tantalize the South for its defeat, nor to take any advantage of that section of our common country by reason of our superiority in position or in resources. From the surrender at Appomattox till this day, the North has shown, what it has felt, a noble magnanimity toward its fellow-citizens of the South-land. Immediately on the surrender, Northern capital began to flow into the Southern States. Northern men were disposed to settle there, and Northern benevolence undertook to carry education and religion to the most needy of that whole region. If the feeling that the North truly cherished had been reciprocated by the South, the wounds of the war would have been soon healed and forgotten, and a New Union would have taken the place of the old, with nobler purposes and closer fraternity.

But Northern capital was spurned, and Northern sympathy was scoffed at, and Northern and Christian benevolence was hounded out; and it was only by a kind of missionary enthusiasm and martyr devotion that Northern men and women persisted in their humane work at the South. The story of humiliation and persecution and ostracism and banishment to which our people were subjected, is a mournful commentary on the qualities which slavery had produced. To a great extent, time and better acquaintance have changed and softened all this, and coming time and experience will accomplish still

more. The testimony which intelligent and liberal Southerners are carrying home from their visits among us, the testimony of the impressive and patent work which our educational and religious institutions are doing in the South, the regal gifts of mercy which Peabody and Slater and Hand and others are lavishly offering for the enlightenment and training of the ignorant masses in the old slave realm, together with the needs of the Southern people in contrast with the growth and rapid augmentation of power of the old free States, will gradually but surely combine, with many occult causes, to convince the South where its true interests lie, and to raise up a generation that will be in fair harmony with American ideas and principles. The pronounced loyalty of leading Southern men to the Union and their intense passion for the restored Nation will be an educational force of great power on the minds of Southern youth. The wise policy of the new Administration in encouraging the development of justice in the minds of Southern white men and of manhood in the souls of Southern black men, will work for patriotism and unity and fraternity. We may rationally look for an improved era, for steady strides toward a strong Nationality, for the welding of our differing races into patriotic harmony, so that we shall, at least, deal justly with one another and rejoice in the contribution which each shall bring to the welfare of all. It is to be regretted that there are all along, occurrences which are retarding this desirable union: As, the murder of negroes, the assassination of John M. Clayton, the prostitution of the ballot, and, more than all, the continued eulogy of *the Lost Cause*. This last is the peculiar mission of Mr. Jefferson Davis. For this he lives. On every occasion, convenient or otherwise, his voice of ill-omen is heard in approval of the Confederate rebellion. We recall his letter to the Confederate Veterans at their annual reunion, in which he said: "Be assured that in heart and in mind I will be with those who bravely struggled to maintain the right and still honor the truth, despite its overthrow, and hopefully look forward to the resurrection which truth's eternity insures." We recall his presence at the meeting in New Orleans in aid of the Southern Historical Society, where he was the principal speaker and indeed the hero of the occasion.

Many veterans of the war were there and a large number of unreconstructed ladies. Gen. F. T. Nicholls, the chairman, in introducing the late head of the Confederacy, remarked, "A Cause which was worthy of fighting for, which was worthy of dying for, was surely a Cause which should not be lost to memory. God never intended that it should be forgotten, and the people of Louisiana have not forgotten it. As memory recurred to the times that tried men's souls, the form and figure of him who stood forth as the leader of the South rose from the past. Can you with loving hearts turn to him and say to him that *our Cause is not dead* and that it is not forgotten?" Then, in the midst of "tremendous applause," Mr. Davis stepped forward. We extract, as showing the animus of the man, some of his significant observations. "As for me, our Cause was so just, so sacred, that had I known all that has come to pass, had I known what was to be inflicted on me, all that my country was to suffer, all that our posterity was to endure, *I would do it over and over again.*" This accursed sentiment was applauded to the echo. He said: "They who now sleep in the grave cannot be benefited by anything we can do; their Cause has gone before a higher tribunal than any earthly judgment-seat; but their children and children's children are to be benefited by preserving the record of what they did, and, more than all, the moral with which they did it. Could there be a cause more sacred than this! If there be anything that justifies human war, it is defense of country, of family, of constitutional right." "It is somewhat difficult for a Confederate, whose heart lies bedded in the grave of our Cause, to speak to you on a subject which revives the memories of that period, and to speak with that forbearance which the occasion requires." These bitter denunciations were received with applause that shook the theater, showing that a large class of the Southern people cherish the spirit of the rebellion and are determined to keep alive the alienation of the war period.

The Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, the distinguished Presbyterian clergyman of New Orleans, the bitterest opponent of the union of the Northern and Southern Presbyterian churches, followed in a speech which had an undertone of treason. He

said: "I have often heard and read the term 'Lost Cause' applied to the embodiment of the principles for which the Southern people fought; but I ask you, was ever a Cause really lost when supported by such truth and devotion and which had received such a baptism of blood? I have lived long enough to know that the minority is often the party that triumphs in the end. We may have been overthrown by physical force, but principles still live." Dr. Palmer is a leader of religious thought in the South; and he appears here, in consistency with his position elsewhere, as a defender of the rebellion and a promoter of disunion.

The unseemly philippic which Gen. Rosser, a dashing cavalry-man of the Confederacy, uttered, a few days since, at a reunion of Confederate veterans in Baltimore, in which he pretended to scorn the valor of Northern men as contrasted with that of Southern men, was in the same line of gratuitous provocation. It was as weak in substance as it was foolish in expression, and it united the insolence of bravado with the gall of defeat. The press has claimed that Gen. Rosser was drunk; but he was drunk only as he was drunk when he led his troopers against the Union lines which he could not pierce. He had forgotten that, on the collapse of the Confederacy, he sought subsistence at Northern hands, by honorable work for a Northern corporation. He was able to live and to prosper because the Nation which he attempted to destroy was powerful and progressive. He claims to be loyal now to the Union; but a genuine loyalty does not agree well with such acrimonious invective.

Another demonstration of a similar character occurred on the 4th of March of this year, at the annual meeting of the Association of Veteran Confederate States Cavalry. At that meeting, Miss Winnie Davis, daughter of Mr. Jefferson Davis, was received as the "Daughter of the Confederacy," and was greeted with the "rebel yell" by the standing veterans. One of the speakers, eulogizing one of the Confederate armies, used this language: "That name is not a dead thing of the past, nor is it only a living memory; it means the dedication of all that is precious, all that is noble, all that is holy, on the altar of our country; it means that the men who died, the

women who suffered, the children who wept, were sacrificial offerings in that Cause of all that is great and good; it means that those who survive are animated by the same ennobling aspirations." A Confederate General in speaking of the Confederate dead, also said: "It is consolation to their comrades that they died in a just and honorable Cause. While the rains of heaven have washed the blood from battle-fields, yet as time passes the deeds of glory in which that blood was given must grow brighter." He added: "When the future comes the historian will accord to the Southern Confederate as much praise as to the Northern hero." Although the treason is not quite as rank in these utterances as in the more indiscreet speech of General Rosser and Mr. Jefferson Davis, we regret such exhibitions of it as perpetuating hostility and alienating people who should be one.

Such harangues, kindling the old hostilities, inflaming the passions that ought to slumber, and handing down to the children the enmities born of defeat, are full of harm for the country. When such a spirit shows itself in social convocations, on the floors of Congress, and in religious assemblages as well, when the North is denounced, and the South is apotheosized, for the part which each took in the war, there will be challenged rejoinder and retaliation. The passionate debates in Congress have been provoked by Southern arrogance. The line between the sections is perpetuated by Southern hostility. The factions which hold the people apart are kept up and are inflamed by the invectives of Mr. Jefferson Davis and the applause of the men and women who worship his malevolent shadow.

Such an exhibition presents to the country a melancholy and disturbing fact. It shows how a great people may be misled. It gives resurrection to feuds which Providence has buried. It hinders the fraternity which the whole Nation needs. The North truly desires unification and brotherhood. It would lavish its generosity upon the South as a part of the common country, and heal with kindness the wounds of the war. It would reach out its right hand to clasp with patriotic fervor the right hand of its Southern brother. It would open its left hand with uncounted wealth to secure the best gifts for

its less fortunate fellow-citizens. It would swell with men and means the tide of prosperity which should flow over the fairest of our States, which are rich with their undeveloped wealth and the munificent treasures of nature. It would rejoice in the progress and power of its gallant and brilliant brethren of the glorious South-land, even as when "one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." It would give its heart, with warm affection and sympathy, to those whom it met in the melancholy ordeal of battle, and would conquer with love those whom it conquered with arms. It is, therefore, to be deeply regretted that there is a party of arrogance and folly at the South which assumes to dominate the more conservative and friendly people, and which wishes to keep alive bitterness and separation, in the delusive hope that in some way, at some time, the Lost Cause may be regained. As long as Mr. Jefferson Davis shall live he will be the idol of a class of Southern females who detest the name and the fact of the Union, whose "people" are the South, and whose "nation" is the old Slave States.

BURDETT HART.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

CLASSICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YALE
COLLEGE.

Feb. 26, 1889. Mr. F. F. Abbott read a paper upon the use of prepositions in Tacitus. He showed that of the new uses to which the prepositions are put by Tacitus some are traceable to Greek influence, others to Vergil and Horace, to the influence of colloquial forms of expression, and to a desire for novelty, variety and brevity. The prepositions which are followed by the accusative were divided for discussion, into seven groups. The first group was made up of *ad*, *adusque*, *apud* and *in*. Of the Ciceronian uses of *ad* to denote "motion towards," "presence after motion," and "simultaneous occurrence," the first has been extended by Tacitus; in the second use *apud* takes the place of *ad*, while the third use has been in general restricted but developed along a particular line. *Ad* is also frequently used to denote result, purpose, and tendency, where it is interchangeable with *in*. *Usque* is found before and after *ad* and once after the noun. *Apud* is used before all words of place with the force of *in* and the ablative, and is also found in expressions of time. *In* often expresses result; it is used two or three times after verbs of rest, and with words of adoption and marriage. In group II., made up of *citra*, *extra*, *juxta*, and *ultra*, the use of *citra* and *extra* is orthodox in the Annals, but they have the force of *sine* in the minor writing of Tacitus. *Juxta* is used once metaphorically, *ultra* with the force of "later than." In the third group, made up of *cis*, *infra*, *intra*, *inter*, and *supra*,—*intra* equals *in* with ablative. *Inter* has four new uses. It appears after verbs of motion, as a substitute for an adverbial clause, in certain expressions of time, and in the expression *inter paucos*. *Supra* is used of rank. In group IV. were put *ante*, *post*, *pone*, *sub*, and *penes*. *Ante* and *post* are used of rank; *penes* is followed by the names of things. In group V. were *erga*, *adversus*, *contra* and *secundum*. *Erga* and *adversus* occur with a favorable, unfavorable, and colorless meaning; *erga* is used with persons and things, *adversus* of persons

generally. *Adversus* also indicates a means of protection against and stands for *de*. In group VI. were *ob*, *per*, and *propter*. *Ob* denotes internal cause, and represents cause. *Per* indicates a point of time, also cause and manner. In group VII. were *super* and *circa*. *Super* stands for *praeter*, and *circa* equals *de*.

Five classes of expressions were considered together at some length, viz : the use of prepositions (1) before neuter adjectives, (2) in phrases modern in form, (3) in expressions of time, (4) before neuter pronouns, (5) in certain stereotyped phrases. Other peculiarities were noticed as follows: the omission of the preposition, and zeugma in its use, which were attributed to a desire for brevity; anastrophe and the interchange of prepositions with other constructions, which were attributed to a desire for variety. The paper then showed that as regards the use of prepositions, Latin was gaining in flexibility while losing in dignity and accuracy, and that this loss was less noticeable in Tacitus because of his clearness of thought.

Tuesday, March 12, 1889. Dr. W. H. Parks read a paper on

CORAËS, THE PHILOLOGIST AND STATESMAN.

Little is generally known about Coraës, although he was a very striking character, and his influence was great, both in preparing the way for the Greek Revolution of 1821 and in determining the form of the modern Greek language, which is a compromise between the ancient Greek and the ordinary language of conversation in his time.

Adimantius Coraës was born in Smyrna, April 27th, 1748. His love for study was aroused by a prize which he won at school. He went to Amsterdam in 1772 in the interests of his father's business; here he stayed six years. Then, after a four years' residence at Smyrna, he went to Montpellier, in France, to study medicine. Graduating here, he went to Paris in 1788. The French Revolution increased his desires for the regeneration of his native land. He now gave up the study of medicine and devoted himself to the welfare of his countrymen, refusing profitable offers of employment and choosing to live in poverty for their sake. He appears before the world in two aspects: the philologist and the patriot. Some of his philological works are: a translation of Strabo, for which Napoleon gave him a pension, and editions of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and Plutarch; also

his "Hellenic Library" and his "Atacta." These were received with distinguished praise by the Greeks, the French, and the Germans. One editor classes him with Porson, Wolf, and Wyttenbach. But besides his versatility in other directions, he was occupied, according to Rangabé, even more with his patriotic aspirations than with philology. Coraë's influence on the Greeks was exerted in three ways: he edited the classics with patriotic and stirring Prolegomena; he fostered the cause of common-school education; and he wrote political pamphlets and dialogues. He did not go to Greece himself on account of his vehement hatred of the Turks, and at the outbreak of the Revolution he was too old and infirm to take an active part in the struggle. But he corresponded with the leaders of the national cause, and enlisted the sympathies of the rest of Europe in behalf of his country.

Coraë's died at Paris, April 6, 1833, aged eighty-five. He was attended in his last illness by two young Greeks who were graduates of Yale College. In 1835, a Coraë's Society was established at Paris, of which Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo were members. In 1870, a movement was set on foot at Marseilles to publish Coraë's works, to convey his remains to Smyrna, to erect a memorial of him at Athens, and a cenotaph at Paris. About \$9,000 was subscribed, of which \$4,000 were collected in Marseilles and \$1,000 in New York City.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLUB.

Jan. 8th. Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious. Mr. W. O. Krohn.

Jan. 22d. The Psychology of the Spiritual Life. Mr. J. F. Morse.

Feb. 5th. The Four Realities of Physical Science. Prof. C. S. Hastings.

Feb. 19th. The Ultimate Distinction of Philosophical Methods. Mr. R. Nakashima.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 79—WEEK ENDING MARCH 2, 1889.

Sunday, February 24.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.80 A. M. Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D., of Boston. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by the Rev. Dr. Moxom.

Monday, February 25.—*Armies, Their Organization, Equipments and Tactics* (Lecture in the Course on Military Science)—Lieut. Mason M. Patrick, U. S. Engineers. North Sheffield Hall, 3 P. M.

Tuesday, February 26.—*The French School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 3 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Twentieth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7 to 7.45 P. M. *German Readings* (Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea)—Mr. Goodrich. Room C, Cabinet, 7 P. M. *Mathematical Club*—Exhibition by Mr. Abdank-Abakanowicz, of his 'Intégraphe,' Sloane Laboratory, 7.30 P. M. *Oaks* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Daniel C. Eaton. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Classical and Philological Society*—Mr. Abbott, on the Use of Preposition in Tacitus. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, February 27.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 3 P. M. *Mataphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *University Chamber Concert*—Beethoven Quartette. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Thursday, February 28.—*Divine Truth for all Conditions of Men* (Lecture in the Divinity School)—Rev. John Hall, D.D., of New York City. Marquand Chapel, 3 P. M. *College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, March 1.—*Moving, Supplying, and Sheltering Troops* (Lecture in the Course on Military Science)—Capt. Eric Bergland, U. S. Engineers. North Sheffield Hall, 3 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Lecture Preparatory to Communion Service*—Dwight Hall, 7.30 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper on Limitations of Railway Management, by Mr. Charles E. Curtis. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M. *Municipal Government* (Yale Kent Club Lecture)—Hon. Seth Low, of Brooklyn, N. Y. County Court House, 8 P. M. *Petroleum and Natural Gas* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor J. S. Newberry, of Columbia College. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

University Chamber Concerts—The fourth of the series will be given on Wednesday evening, February 27, by the Beethoven Quartette, with

the following programme: 1. Haydn, Op. 74, No. 1 C major. 2. a. Bach: Air. b. C. Cui: Petite Marche. 3. Beethoven, Op. 74, E flat major.

NO. 80.—WEEK ENDING MARCH 9, 1889.

Sunday, March 8.—*Public Worship, followed by Communion Service.*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *Yale Young Men's Christian Association Monthly Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. To be addressed by Professor Hadley.

Monday, March 4.—*Strategy and Grand Tactics* (Lecture in the Course on Military Science)—Lieut. Charles S. Riché, U. S. Engineers. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Science and Miracle* (Lecture in the Phi Beta Kappa Course)—Professor DuBois. Linonia Hall, 7 P. M. *University Reception*—Dwight Hall, 8 to 11 P. M.

Tuesday, March 5.—*The French School of Painting* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 8 P. M. *Principles of Political Science: I. The Authority of Government* (University Lecture)—Professor Hadley. 194 Old Chapel, 5 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Twentieth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7 to 7.45 P. M. *Chemical Analysis* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Wells. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Paper by Mr. Arthur Fairbanks, on Kant's Ethical Theory in Relation to his other Thought. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, March 6.—*Evolution*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Historical Paper by Mr. C. H. Wissner, on the Second Assyrian Period. 185 College st., 7 P. M.

Friday, March 8.—*Light, Siege, and Sea-Coast Artillery* (Lecture in the Course on Military Science)—Lieut. H. C. Newcomer, U. S. Engineers. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Prison Reform* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Wayland. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Saturday, March 9.—*Junior Exhibition Pieces* due at 2 Treasury Building.

NO. 81.—WEEK ENDING MARCH 16, 1889.

Sunday, March 10.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Edward G. Selden, of Springfield, Mass. *Yale Young Men's Christian Association Praise Service*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M.

Monday, March 11.—*Field and Permanent Fortifications* (Lecture in the Course on Military Science)—Lieut. J. G. Warren, U. S. Engineers. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Tuesday, March 12.—*Marbles of Zeus-Altar at Pergamon, now in the Berlin Museum* (Lecture in the Art School)—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 8 P. M. *Principles of Political Science: II. Political Sur-*

vital and Political Right (University Lecture)—Professor Hadley. 194 Old Chapel, 5 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Twenty-first Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *Science and Immortality* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor DuBois. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Classical and Philological Society*—Mr. W. H. Parks, on Coraë's, the Philologist and Statesman. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, March 13.—*The First Chapter of Genesis*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *From Athens to Olympia* (Yale Kent Club Lecture, illustrated)—Professor R. H. Mather, of Amherst College. County Court House, 8 P. M.

Thursday, March 14.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, March 15.—*Sea-Coast Defences, Vessels which attack them, and Torpedo Systems* (Lecture in the Course on Military Science)—Lieut. George A. Zinn, U. S. Engineers. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Fast Trains* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Hadley. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

NO. 82.—WEEK ENDING MARCH 23, 1889.

Sunday, March 17.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. J. H. Ecob, D.D., of Albany. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by the Rev. Dr. Ecob.

Tuesday, March 19.—*Discoveries at Olympia, represented in Campo Santo, Berlin*—(Lecture in the Art School—Professor Hoppin. Art School, 8 P. M. *Principles of Political Science: III. Individual Rights* (University Lecture)—Professor Hadley. 194 Old Chapel, 5 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Twenty-third Book of the Iliad—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *New England Town Government* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Henry C. White, Esq. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Paper by Mr. Fritz Jacobson, on Boström's Philosophy. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M. *Undergraduate Life at Oxford* (Yale Kent Club Lecture)—Rev. H. N. Cunningham, of Watertown, Conn. County Court House, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, March 20.—*Coral Islands*—Professor J. D. Dana. Peabody Museum Lecture Room, 2 P. M. *Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Synopsis of Recent Papers. 185 College st., 7 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Discussion on Bill to place Wool on the Free-list. Linonia Hall, 7.30 P. M. *University Chamber Concert*—Cello and Piano Recital. North Sheffield Hall, 8.15 P. M.

Friday, March 22.—*History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Asso-*

ciation (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper on the French Copper Syndicate, by Mr. George B. Fowler. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M. *The Laborer and his Employer* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—President Francis A. Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Saturday, March 23.—*Sophomore Compositions* due at 153 Farnam Hall, before 12 M.

NO. 88.—WEEK ENDING MARCH 30, 1889.

Sunday, March 24.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. John E. Todd, D.D., of the Church of the Redeemer. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by Mr. Hunt.

Tuesday, March 26.—*Principles of Political Science: IV. Delegated Powers* (University Lecture)—Professor Hadley. 194 Old Chapel, 5 P. M. *Greek Readings* (Twenty-fourth Book of the Iliad)—Professor Seymour. 195 Old Chapel, 7-7.45 P. M. *The Scientific Study of Infant Intelligence* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Henry T. Blake, Esq. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, March 27.—*Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Thursday, March 28.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, March 29.—*History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *The Worship of Meteorites* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Newton. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

POEMS OF EMMA LAZARUS.*—There were two periods in the life of Emma Lazarus which are well marked in the volumes before us. The first volume is rich with good poetry, and reveals unusual strength of intellectual powers and depth and nobility of feeling. "Epochs" and "Phantasies" show her at her best here. "Spagnoletti," the long tragedy, which held Emerson's uninterrupted attention from first line to last, has scenes and passages which seem really great. But it was the quite recent outrageous persecution of her people in Russia and elsewhere which first revealed the fuller power of the Hebrew poetess. When thousands of Jewish refugees were landing on our shores, daily at the Battery she mingled with them, giving her people welcome and aid wherever she could, inspiring by action as well as by word. The poems of her second volume were written at this time and after. Her life gives a noble example of the high spiritual development which comes with devotion to a great and good cause. Her "Epistles to the Hebrews," and her poem, "The Crowing of the Red Cock," "The Banner of the Jew," and others, were worthy of a daughter of Miriam. We subjoin one of her representative poems.

GIFTS.

"O World-God, give me Wealth!" the Egyptian cried.
His prayer was granted. High as heaven, behold
Palace and Pyramid; the brimming tide
Of lavish Nile washed all his land with gold.
Armies of slaves toiled ant-wise at his feet.
World-circling traffic roared through mart and street.
His priests were gods, his spice-balmed kings enshrined,
Set death at naught in rock-ribbed channels deep.
Seek Pharaoh's race to-day and ye shall find
Rust and the moth, silence and dusky sleep.

"O World-God give me Beauty!" cried the Greek.
His prayer was granted. All the earth became

*The Poems of Emma Lazarus. Two volumes. Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1889.

Plastic and vocal to his sense ; each peak,
 Each grove, each stream, quick with Promethean flame,
 Peopled the world with imaged grace and light.
 The lyre was his, and his the breathing might
 Of the immortal marble, his the play
 Of diamond-pointed thought and golden tongue.
 Go seek the sunshine race, ye find to-day
 A broken column and a lute unstrung.

"O World-God give me Power !" the Roman cried.
 His prayer was granted. The vast world was chained
 A captive to the chariot of his pride.
 The blood of myriad provinces was drained
 To feed that fierce, insatiable red heart.
 Invulnerably bulwarked every part
 With serried legions and with close-meshed code,
 Within the burrowing worm had gnawed its home.
 A roofless ruin stands where once abode
 The imperial race of everlasting Rome.

"O God-head give me Truth !" the Hebrew cried.
 His prayer was granted. He became the slave
 Of the idea, a pilgrim far and wide,
 Cursed, hated, spurned, and scourged with none to save.
 The Pharaohs knew him, and when Greece beheld,
 His wisdom wore the hoary crown of eld.
 Beauty he hath foresworn, and wealth, and power.
 Seek him to-day and find in every land.
 No fire consumes him, neither floods devour,
 Immortal through the lamp within his hand.

ERNEST WHITNEY.

COOKE'S "HUMAN MYSTERY IN HAMLET."*— "Upon no throne built by mortal hands has beat so fierce a light as upon the airy fabric reared at Elsinore," says Furness. Guildenstern is ever seeking to tear out the heart of Hamlet's mystery, and, with the recorders in his hand, Hamlet still remains more baffling than Kohemoth. "Given a printing press on German soil (and the printing press is indigenous there) and, lo! an essay on Hamlet." America is not so very far behind the land of Werder in exegetical and energetical ingenuity. It was, appropriately enough, from the Keystone State from the very city of *Shakespeariana*, that a work appeared seeking to solve all mystery by showing that the prince was a woman. And even that book was readable and con-

* *The Human Mystery in Hamlet*. By MARTIN W. COOKE. New York: Forda, Howard & Hurlbert. 1888.

tained suggestions of value. The latest "attempt to say an unsaid word" is very different. Mr. Cooke's work must take rank among its kind as one of the strongest and most felicitous in argument and theory; a reader can hardly fail to give sympathy to such well urged propositions. The theory that Hamlet represents a type and not an individual, that the play represents the struggle of man to obey supernaturally imposed duties which call for control of unconquerable passions, is a rational theory. Therein lies its fault; it is too rational. A Baconian might accept it more readily than a Shakespearian. It is a significant fact, significant of the difficulty in any recondite interpretation of Hamlet's character, that nearly every page holds something to challenge criticism. Equally significant is the fact that nearly every page holds something which a reader feels constrained to accept. If the brilliant and earnest argument does not carry final conviction it is the fault of the subject, not of the writer.

ERNEST WHITNEY.

HUNGERFORD'S AMERICAN BOOK OF CHURCH SERVICES.*—This is one of a class books, which, whether used for ritual or not, are very suggestive in respect to modifications which are desirable and possible in forms and styles of Christian worship. Its real merit or demerit as a service book can best be tested by actual use, and the compiler testifies that it has grown out of his experience as a pastor, and has been in successful use.

The book does not make a specialty of the Christian year, nor attempt any modification of the customary use of Christian hymns. But in lines which already to some extent have been adopted by the churches, it aims to show what more may be done for the enrichment of these forms of worship, and to commend for general adoption a more comprehensive and acceptable ritual.

Changes of ritual which depend solely upon the minister and the choir, are easy. There is no difficulty about introducing more than one Scripture lesson, or multiplying at will the number of anthems, chants, responses, and interludes. It is not so easy to say how best to meet the growing desire on the part of the congre-

* *The American Book of Church Services: with Selections for responsive reading, and full Orders of service for the celebration of matrimony, for funerals, and other occasional ministrations:* Also, an ample list of selections of sacred music, with references for the guidance of pastors and choristers. Arranged by EDWARD HUNGERFORD. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889, pp. xii, 374.

gation to have a larger share in oral worship. Yet within the last thirty years three things have been achieved which at one time seemed almost impossible. It is not congregational singing alone which has secured a permanent foothold as part of the service of the house of the Lord. Besides that, the responsive reading of selections of Scripture, and the united repetition of the Lord's Prayer, have become so general that we may confidently say they will not be given up. The use of the Apostles' Creed is less common, but is ceasing to be a novelty, and no minister who desires to use a precomposed form of prayer, or to incorporate ancient collects with his unwritten petitions, is debarred from doing so at the present day by fear of giving offense to narrow-minded worshippers.

One thing more will follow eventually, and that is the use of the litany and of the responses to the ten commandments, uttered devotionally by the congregation as one matter after another is brought to mind by the voice of the minister. This is more probable now than was the habitual use of the Lord's Prayer thirty years ago. This volume, of course, recommends it.

The compiler proposes alternate forms, a shorter and a longer, for both the morning and the evening service. Speaking in general, he offers no important modification of the common order for the last half of the service, or from the hymn before sermon to the end. But what are sometimes termed "introductory services," he greatly expands. Thus "the fuller order of morning service" is outlined as follows: 1. The organ voluntary; 2. Sentences of Scripture read; 3. A "hymn of aspiration," (two stanzas); 4. The pastoral salutation (Num. vi. 24-26); 5. The pastoral call to worship (several verses); 6. The choir call to worship (several verses); 7. Hymn of praise (three stanzas); 8. The Invocation (four verses); 9. The Lord's Prayer; 10. The Offertory (sentences and prayer); 11. Notices; 12. First Scripture Lesson; 13. Gloria Tibi; 14. Second Scripture Lesson; 15. The chief Anthem; 16. Selection for responsive reading; 17. Gloria Patri; 18. The Apostles' Creed; 19. Prayers, (or Litany); 20. Organ response; 21. Hymn, followed by sermon, etc.

A long series, in which the congregation have risen four times, and bowed or knelt twice; but, the compiler says, "rightly conducted, the services will scarcely exceed the usual length."

The point which seems to us most open to criticism in this Order, is the entire omission of a "General Confession," and the postponement of all opportunity for the common confession of

sin till the prayer before the sermon, after hymns of aspiration and praise, anthems, scripture lessons, responsive readings and all. There is profound wisdom in a remark of Dr. Leonard Bacon that "the general confession of sin and the united supplication for pardon and grace in Christ's name, are properly, in any just conception of public worship, the *first* act of an assembly presenting itself before God." Even if the doxology is taken as the key note, it is desirable to give prominence to this essential part of worship. Ordinarily the Invocation affords an opportunity for penitential utterance, but in this book the Invocation consists of four verses of Scripture, to be spoken by the minister alone, or responsively by minister and people, with no mention of sin and pardon; and confession is lacking, except for the brief plea for forgiveness in the Lord's Prayer which immediately follows.

Some other infelicities have occurred to us in examining the volume. While appropriate forms are borrowed freely from the Book of Common Prayer and other sources, it is a pity not to have learned more from churchmen who have sought long and earnestly to improve and enrich the devotional forms of the Episcopal Church. E. g., the Litany is given in full, but without the suffrage which so many have desired to add, "That it may please thee to send forth laborers into thine harvest;" "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord."

The volume contains the prayer for the President of the United States, based on the English form of prayer for the royal family, but leaves out the alternate form in the "Book Annexed" which may perhaps be incorporated in the next edition of "the Book of Common Prayer." It contains an arrangement of the Beatitudes for responsive reading, but throws away the opportunity of recommending the use, after every blessing, of the refrain, "Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word."

Some minor infelicities are these: The text of the ten commandments is taken not from the version in common use, nor from the Canterbury revision, but from the Episcopal Prayer-book. In the selections for responsive reading the minister and people read alternate verses, instead of alternate clauses. The practical inconvenience resulting from an entire re-arrangement of the Psalms outweighs any possible advantage of classifying them as

didactic, penitential, and so forth. This might be remedied to some extent by an index.

Uniformity of order is helpful, especially when novelties are proposed for adoption; but without any obvious reason, the *Gloria Patri* which follows the responsive reading in the morning, precedes it in the evening. In the morning the people stand, but in the evening they kneel when saying the Lord's Prayer.

The selection of Scriptures adapted for the use of the choir, covers a good deal of ground and is accompanied by references to a large number of musical compositions of less difficulty. It is well for choirs and congregations to learn that good anthem music is both cheap and abundant, and to encourage the use of such pieces as come within the ability of the singers, and at the same time are capable of being used for religious effect.

No doubt any minister who should introduce this volume as a help to worship, would find occasion to interline, and substitute, and amend; but even so, its use would certainly tend, in many churches, to secure a deeper interest in the forms of worship and impart a new sense of the liberty of each congregation to choose for itself in what way it will offer its prayers and its praises to God.

EDWARD W. GILMAN.

HARPER AND WEIDNER'S INTRODUCTORY NEW TESTAMENT GREEK METHOD.*—This treatise is designed for those who begin their Greek studies with the New Testament. Its method is inductive throughout. The Gospel of John is used to supply the material for instruction and practice. Upon this plan the student begins reading as soon as he has learned the alphabet. The method may be illustrated from the first Lesson. The subject-matter of the exercise is the first verse of the Gospel of John. The text is given with an interlinear transliteration, enabling the student to practice himself upon the pronunciation of the words until he can accomplish it with ease. Next under "Notes" each word is taken up and fully explained. The form,

* *An Introductory New Testament Greek Method*, together with a Manual containing Text and Vocabulary of the Gospel of John and Lists of Words, and the Elements of New Testament Greek Grammar. By W. R. HARPER, Ph.D., Professor in Yale University, and R. F. WEIDNER, D.D., Professor in Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1889. Pp. 520.

accents, breathings and other details are thus explained as fully as the pupil can understand them at the commencement of his work. Under a third heading are given "Observations" of a more general character. They embrace the principles and usages of the language which the phenomena of the verse studied illustrate, care being taken to enter upon no points which would necessarily be unintelligible to the learner at this early stage of his study. Under a fourth head is given the vocabulary of the verse in which the forms by which the words are ordinarily referred to, are also given, e. g., the Nominative singular of nouns; present, first person singular of verbs, etc. Under V. are found very simple exercises, Greek into English, English into Greek, which constitute a valuable practice in handling the words learned in the simplest constructions. Lastly, there are given "Topics for Study" which are really requirements for the review of the main points learned in the lesson preceding.

The book consists of three Parts. The First is the "Method," covering progressive exercises upon the whole Gospel of John, arranged upon the plan described. The Second Part has the Text of John with a literal translation of Chaps. I.-IV.; also a Vocabulary and Word Lists based upon a classification of the words according to the frequency with which they appear in the Gospel. This enables the pupil to commit to memory the commonest words and thus develop reading-power most rapidly. Part III. is entitled "Elements of New Testament Greek Grammar," and contains the matter common to Greek Grammars under the heads of Orthography and Etymology with explanations of peculiarities of form and usage in the New Testament. This Grammatical Part stops short of Syntax. It was, perhaps, the opinion of the authors that this branch of the subject was too large and difficult to find place in so elementary a handbook.

The method pursued in the construction of the book necessitates considerable repetition. The points which are explained under "Observations" in each lesson, must find place again in the Grammatical Part. We do not speak of this as a fault. It may not be so. It may be best to present a second time in the Grammar in a more compact and systematic form the various points which are explained in concrete application from Lesson to Lesson. This method, which we think is somewhat unusual in manuals of this sort, considerably increases the size of the book which seems to us a large one considering the fact that it aims to em-

brace only the elements of the Greek language, excluding Syntax, as illustrated in the Gospel of John. It is beyond question desirable that such an elementary work should be as brief as is consistent with a clear explanation of the matter to be learned.

We are much interested in those efforts which are now making to popularize and render attractive the study of language, particularly the study of the "dead" languages. We hope and believe that these methods will do much to render these languages *living* in a true and important sense. Books of "Method" like that before us do not seem to us to be so new in principle as they are supposed to be. The study of language by a progressive inductive method is no novelty. They are rather new in the mode of *applying* the inductive principle. They prescribe more fully the course of procedure to be pursued in the work of both teacher and pupil. Formerly more was left to the genius of the teacher for teaching and in the very numerous cases where that genius was wanting, the result was a gloomy one. In books like this everything is indicated. There is full explanation of every detail as the study proceeds. The teacher cannot well pass anything over which is necessary to be learned. If the pupil learns as he goes he cannot easily become confused. Such handbooks of method are, therefore, a great safeguard against a careless and unclear teaching and learning. Many a man in the use of such a "Method" might teach with a good degree of success, who, with the simple grammar in hand, would be a failure. We welcome this volume, not only for the reasons indicated, but because we are glad to believe that there is an increasing demand among those who have not had the advantage of classical study, for a handbook which shall enable them to fit themselves to study the New Testament in the original language. Such a demand augurs well for more intelligent and thorough Bible study.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

PROF. HARPER'S "ELEMENTS OF HEBREW SYNTAX."—A book should be judged by what the author has attempted, by the need of the book, and by the excellence of execution. The author modestly states his purpose to be "to classify and arrange these results (already achieved in the line of syntactical investigation) in such a way as to bring them within the reach of that large class of Hebrew students who need and desire a knowledge of

* *Elements of Hebrew Syntax*. By W. R. HARPER, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888.

them but have little time in which to obtain it." When one considers that there is no book current in the English language which meets this need, the work undertaken is amply justified. A greater measure of success has been accomplished than might be expected in the first edition wrought out in the midst of so many and distracting labors as fall to the lot of this author. When one considers that the time allowed to most students of Hebrew is brief, it is seen that it is necessary that the text-book be such that it can be used with as little labor as possible, that its statements of fact shall be absolutely perspicuous and involve no loss of time in their mastery. If we may judge from the character of the text-books in existence this necessity has never seemed to occur to previous writers on Hebrew Syntax. This text-book is divided up into paragraphs and minor divisions so that the teacher can refer the pupil to the exact statement which he wishes the pupil to master. We may now add that the result accomplished, as well as the need, has justified this work of Prof. Harper's. Another point in respect to which this volume should be judged is in regard to the amount of matter in it. It contains more matter than a teacher can expect a class to master during the time ordinarily allotted to the study, yet there is little in the book of which a teacher would not be glad to make use within that time. On the other hand there is one noteworthy omission, namely, of a systematic statement of the more important uses of the prepositions. In the present state of Hebrew Lexicography there is the greater need of such a statement. It is to be noted that the author gives many other details which might be relegated to the Lexicon. Why discriminate against the prepositions? Doubtless the book will be reproduced sooner or later and we trust that this omission will not be allowed to remain.

Every teacher could make out a list of details which he would like to have added. To gratify them all would swell the book beyond the aim of the author. We hope that this book is the forerunner of a full and exhaustive discussion of syntax. The book is in accord with the prevalent judgment of Hebrew scholarship regarding the meaning of the Hebrew tenses. There is a due recognition of the circumstantial clause, a subject unknown to those who have studied only the text-books current in America ten years ago. Under this head a statement of the various ways of translating the clause should have been added to that of the character of the clause. In the section on the Nominative Abso-

lute there is need that the name *Casus Pendens* should have been mentioned as another name of the same construction. This designation is the only one which is strictly accurate.

In the general arrangement of matter two suggestions are made: first, that the first general subject treated in any syntax should be the sentence as a whole, for this is the unit of thought; second, that in Hebrew Syntax the verb occupies the place of first importance among the parts of the sentence. Two errata have come to the eye of the writer. Under Sec. 22-3-a and 26-2-a cross reference to Sec. 24 is given which ought to be Sec. 23, again the statement in Sec. 29-2-a, Rem. d is disproved in Ruth 2.9. See also Müller's *Hebrew Syntax*, Sec. 116, latest issue. There are four indices to this book, of which the first three are excellent and adapted to enable a solitary student to master the book and Hebrew Syntax at once. The fourth index might well have been modeled on the Hebrew index in Prof. Harper's *Elements of Hebrew*. Life is too short to look through 19 references in the vain hope to find a reference to the frequent use of *Lamedh* after the passive verb. It would be unjust to dwell on these minor deficiencies in such a way as to obscure the reputation which this book deserves to have, namely, that of being at present the most serviceable compend of Hebrew Syntax which can be put into hands of the student.

F. B. DENIO.

Summer Schools ^{NINTH} YEAR

Announcements
for the Summer
of **1889**

OF THE
AMERICAN
INSTITUTE OF **Hebrew**

* * * * *

I. SCHOOLS.*—DATES.—PLACES.

1. NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL, May 21-June 11.....Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
2. PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL, June 12-July 8....Protest. Epis. Div. School, West Philadelphia, Pa.
3. FIRST CHAUTAUQUA SCHOOL, July 6-26Chautauqua, N. Y.
4. SECOND CHAUTAUQUA SCHOOL, July 28-Aug. 15.....Chautauqua, N. Y.
5. CHICAGO SCHOOL, Aug. 15-Sept. 4.....Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston (near Chicago), Ill.

II. COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

Remark 1. Each School will continue three weeks: this makes it possible to avoid overlapping; it also enables men who so desire to attend two or even more schools.

Remark 2. The Principal will be in attendance at each of the five schools, from the first hour to the last.

I. Hebrew Courses: These will be practically the same in all the schools.

1) *For Beginners*, (a) Mastery of Gen. I.-III., (b) gram. principles, (c) memorizing of words and critical analysis of text. *Three hours a day.*

2) *For Reviewers*, (a) Mastery of Gen. III.-VIII., (b) review of elementary principles and more advanced gram. work, (c) memorizing of words and sight-reading. *Three hours a day.*

3) *For Progressive Class*, (a) Critical translation of Judges or 1 Samuel, with study of accents, forms and constructions; (b) the fundamental principles of the language, especially the vowel-system; (c) sight-reading (with memorizing of words) in Exodus, Deuteronomy, Kings.

4) *For Advanced Class*, (a) Critical Study of (1) Isaiah XL-LXVI. (at New England School), (2) the Book of Job (at Philadelphia), (3) Joel, Amos and Hosea (1st Chautauqua School), (4) Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi (2d Chautauqua School), (5) Isaiah XL-LXVI. (at Chicago); (b) the study of syntax; (c) sight-reading in Jeremiah and selected Psalms.

II. Cognate Courses: (a) Assyrian for beginners; (b) Assyrian for advanced students; (c) Arabic for beginners; (d) Arabic for advanced students; (e) Aramaic; (f) Syriac; (g) Ethiopic; but no class in a cognate language will be organized in any School, unless four applications for such class be received by the Principal thirty days before the opening of the particular school for which application is made.

III. INSTRUCTORS.

Arrangements have thus far been completed with the following gentlemen:

CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Ph. D., Newton Centre, Mass.
S. BURNHAM, D. D., Hamilton, N. Y.
GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Ph. D., Amherst, Mass.
A. S. CARRIER, M. A., Chicago, Ill.
C. E. CRANDALL, M. A., New Haven, Conn.
EDWARD L. CURTIS, Ph. D., Chicago, Ill.
GEO. S. GOODSPPEED, M. A., New Haven, Conn.
RICHARD J. GOTTHEIL, Ph. D., New York City.
WM. B. HARPER, Ph. D., New Haven, Conn.

CHAS. HORSWELL, Evanston, Ill.
MORRIS K. JASTROW, JR., Philadelphia, Pa.
JOHN G. LANSING, D. D., New Brunswick, N. J.
WALLACE W. LOVEJOY, Philadelphia, Pa.
D. A. MCCLENNAHAN, D. D., Allegheny City, Pa.
FRANK K. SANDERS, M. A., New Haven, Conn.
BARNARD C. TAYLOR, M. A., Chester, Pa.
M. S. TERRY, D. D., Evanston, Ill.
REVERE F. WEIDNER, D. D., Rock Island, Ill.

IV. EXPENSES.

Board and room may be had at the various schools at prices ranging from \$3.50 per week upwards. Full details concerning cost of boarding at each school will be given in the descriptive pamphlet. The tuition fee will be eight dollars.

V. IN GENERAL.

(1) Each school will begin at 9 A. M. of the day appointed; attendance upon the work of the first hour is essential.

(2) A detailed statement of the classes, instruction, expenses, etc., in each school will be published April 10, and may be obtained by addressing the Principal of Schools,

WILLIAM R. HARPER,

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

* Final arrangements have not, in the case of every item, been made. There is, therefore, a possibility that some slight changes may be made from the details here announced.

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NEW ENGLANDER

AND

YALE REVIEW.

NULLIUS ADDICTUS JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI.

MAY, 1889.

ART. I. The January "Messages" on Election Bribery.

Mason A. Green, Springfield, Mass.

II. Economics of the Strike.

G. H. Hubbard, Norton, Mass.

III. The Commonplace in Fiction.

Oscar W. Firkins, Minneapolis, Minn.

IV. A Pioneer of German Art: Asmus Jakob Carstens.

Frederick Wells Williams, New Haven, Conn.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

Philosophical Club.

The Semitic Club.

Yale University Bulletin.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Whittier's Prose Works.—The Increase in the Appreciation of Serious Art in America. By John C. Van Dyke.—The Constitutional History and Government of the United States. By Judson S. Landon, LL.D.—On the Senses, Instincts and Intelligence of Animals, with special reference to Insects. By Sir John Lubbock, Bart.—A Treatise of Human Nature. By David Hume. The Mind of the Child. Part II. The Development of the Intellect. By W. Preyer.—Memory, What it is and How to Improve it. By David Kay.—The Beginnings of Ethics. By Rev. Carroll Cutler, D.D.—The Pastoral Epistles. By Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D.—The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity. By George T. Purves, D.D.—The Expositor's Bible. By Rev. Prof. G. G. Findlay.—The Life of John Price Durbin, D.D., LL.D. By John A. Roche, M.D., D.D., and Randolph S. Foster, D.D., LL.D.—Through Death to Life. By Reuben Thomas, D.D.—Art Amateur.—Magazine of Art.

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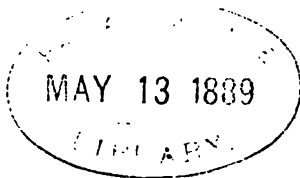
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NEW ENGLANDER

AND

YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXXX.

MAY, 1889.

ARTICLE I.—THE JANUARY “MESSAGES” ON ELECTION BRIBERY.

TWENTY-THREE of our State Legislatures began their first annual or biennial sessions during the month of January and listened to messages from newly elected or retiring governors, or from both. No less than fourteen governors treated bribery at popular elections in a serious manner, a few made passing reference to the matter, and the governors of Massachusetts, Nevada, Nebraska, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina ignored the subject. Prominence is given to election bribery by the governors of Oregon, West Virginia, Tennessee, Delaware, California, Michigan, Rhode Island, Kansas, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Indiana. These States are here divided into three groups. The governors of the first four are democratic; those of the second four are republican; while the last group are known as the four doubtful States, of which two have republican and two democratic governors. No

January message contains a refutation or denial of the charges of extensive election bribery. We propose to analyze these twelve executive utterances with special reference to the remedial legislation proposed.

Gov. Sylvester Pennoyer of Oregon says :

Thoughtful persons of all political parties cannot but view with deep concern the increasing systematic bribery of voters at nearly all of our general elections. It is one of the most dangerous portents of the times and one of the most formidable menaces to the perpetuity of our free government. Our statute laws now hold both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker as equally guilty. This is wrong. The great crime is the crime of the bribe-giver, and the poor man, who, impelled perhaps by the necessities of his family, accepts the bribe, ought rather to be pitied than punished. It is therefore recommended that section 1844 of the laws of Oregon be repealed, which section provides for the punishment of those who accept bribes, for the reason that with this unjust menace removed, the punishment of the bribe-giver will be rendered more easy and certain.

Gov. Pennoyer raises here a close question of political ethics. The degrees of moral turpitude in bribe-giving and bribe-taking are difficult to measure. There are however rough tests to be applied. Accuse a man of selling his vote and he resents it as if you had denounced him as a thief. Accuse him of buying a vote,—that is, bribing a man to change his politics,—and the chances are that he will not lose his temper. Certainly thousands of men consider vote-purchasing legitimate electioneering. By the test of an appeal to a man's conscience, therefore, it seems to be more wicked indeed to sell than to buy a vote. The public always loses respect for a man who accepts a bribe; but partisans do not always lose caste by paying money for other men's votes. Gov. Pennoyer quite unconsciously yields to the vogue of a dulled moral sense in political matters, when, assuming that the bribe-taker should be "pitied rather than punished," he undertakes to make the bribe-giver more odious before the law by expunging the selling of one's suffrages from the list of punishable crimes. He at least might have graded crime by increasing the punishment of the bribe-giver. When the United States constitution had been formulated by the convention of 1787, and was being discussed by the various commonwealths, John Dickinson, the Pennsylvania statesman, said in a pamphlet that if our liberties were ever subverted it

would be "by the licentiousness of the people" as well as by the "turbulent spirit of some of the States." Noah Webster at that time called attention to the fact that in ancient Rome the king and consuls were elected by the body of the people and that "this circumstance paved the way for such excessive bribery and corruption as are wholly unknown in modern times." The more familiar passages in "The Federalist" turn upon a deep, serious distrust of democracies. The federal argument was that popular governments die by suicide. The first duty of the American lawmaker is to reduce the purchasable vote. The decay of morals as indicated by a citizenship that may be sold like pelts or a day's wages is appalling to every lover of his country, and Gov. Pennoyer's pity for the poor man who finds a statute interposed between him and the bribery market is born of a false system of ethics.

The message of Gov. E. W. Wilson of West Virginia contains 338 lines, of which 149 are devoted to corrupt politics. After declaring that our whole country is exposed to the perils of political debauchery, his Excellency says in particular:

Reproach has been cast upon our own State as never before by illegal, fraudulent, and corrupt voting in almost every county within its borders. This is so palpable that he who runs may read. The capitations of 1884, were 138,522, and the entire vote, after the most active political campaign ever made in the state, 137,587. The capitations for 1888 were 147,408, and the entire vote 159,440. The difference in the capitations and the vote in 1884 was 4065; in 1888 it is 12,082. This shows an increase of votes in four years of 21,853, which if legitimate would indicate a population of 900,000 and an increase in four years of much more than 100,000. It is certain that no such increase has taken place. The purity of our elections imperatively demands a revision of the election laws . . . I recommend that a registration law be enacted and that our election laws be amended so that bribery and fraudulent voting may be prevented and the purity of the ballot-box preserved.

No one need dispute Gov. Wilson's facts after the scenes at Charleston, on the 4th of March, when the republican governor elected upon the face of the returns, the president of the State senate, and Mr. Wilson himself all claimed the executive office; while a fourth man, the democratic candidate for governor, gave notice of a contested election upon grounds of bribery in November perpetrated by republicans. It concerns us more

especially here to note the completeness of Mr. Wilson's confession of wide-spread bribery as against the barrenness of his recommendation. Any registration law that the Legislature of West Virginia might pass would be subject to the following provisions of the State constitution :

No citizen shall ever be denied or refused the right or privilege of voting at an election because his name is not or has not been registered or listed as a qualified voter.

The Legislature shall never authorize or establish any board or court of registration of voters.

What good public purpose could be served by the ordering of a registration if the registration list could not be used as a voters' check list? Illegal voters in West Virginia can be challenged now, and nothing more could be accomplished under a registration law with the limits set by the constitution. If Gov. Wilson favored registration, why did he not recommend an amendment to the constitution that will permit it?

Gov. Robert L. Taylor of Tennessee says :

While our laws are in most respects adequate, yet it seems that the rapid growth of our cities has made more prevalent an evil that is not sufficiently provided against by the law. Many men vote more than once, and it is impossible to fully prevent it, hard to detect them, and more difficult to punish them. In my opinion a well-devised registration law would meet the case. I recommend also that your honorable bodies pass an act more clearly defining the composition, powers, and duties of the board of canvassers of election returns. Much complication has recently grown out of the lack of accuracy with which the existing statutes can be construed.

The only observation to be made here is that Gov. Taylor's recommendations go directly to the source of the trouble in his State, although he elected not to spread the information of gross election irregularities before the public. His suggestions have been adopted, and the Legislature has already passed an Australian ballot act for the larger cities of the State, as well as a general registration law.

Here are three passages taken from the message of Gen. Benjamin T. Biggs of Delaware :

The use of money at elections is alarmingly on the increase. That use has in this state become so great as to call forth a protest by all who favor the purity of the ballot. The present law upon the statute

books does not seem to meet the present needs, and the enforcement of its provisions is practically a dead letter. I deem it my duty to call your attention to the wholesale bribery which has become a main feature in elections, and urge upon you the necessity of prompt action in the matter. So unblushing has the practice become that the votes of men are openly bartered for and secured. Little by little the evil has grown until to-day the number of those who enter the political auction mart and barter and sell their suffrages to the highest bidder is alarmingly large. The evil has grown to such magnitude that the most strenuous legislation is demanded to check its further increase. There should be a law enacted sufficiently rigorous, weighing heavily upon both the buyer and the seller. Provision equally exacting should be made for the failure in the performance of duty on the part of those entrusted with the execution of the law. . . . Every precaution should be taken to secure the purity of the ballot, and you as the chosen representatives of the people, should enact those laws which tend to elevate rather than by passiveness suffer those practices to continue which degrade the morals of the voter.

I think it not improper in this connection to remark that it seems to have become common of late for the ignorant and misinformed in some other states, from motives unworthy of commendation, to misrepresent the laws and government of this state in respect to the right to a just and equal exercise of the elective franchise by its citizens. Even those who assume the office of enlightening public opinion as editors of the public press in other states have abused the office they have assumed in this respect by grossly misrepresenting the laws of Delaware and her people who make those laws. I feel no hesitation in declaring as the executive of this state that there is no other state in the Union where the proper exercise of the elective franchise is more properly and fully secured without restriction or qualification in respect to race, color, or previous condition of servitude than it is in this state. . . . It ill becomes those who are not citizens of this state to carp at laws to which they are not subject and in which they have no interest. Concerning those persons to whom I have referred, I have this only to say, they will have done good work if they properly attend to the performance of the duties imposed upon them as citizens of their respective states. . . . The only amendment (to the constitution) I would suggest to the tax collection laws would be that it should be a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment, for a collector of the county tax to refuse to give a tax receipt to an assessed voter when the same shall be applied for by him in person and the amount of tax assessed tendered by said voter.

There is a growing desire on the part of a large number of our citizens for a revision of the present constitution of the state. By an act passed at the last session of the General Assembly a special election was held on the day therein specified. At that election the number of votes cast for a convention is by many held under the provisions of the con-

stitution to be insufficient to authorize you to call the same or make provision for its calling. . . . The fundamental law of the state should be changed only upon mature reflection, and in considering how you shall proceed in this which we all acknowledge to be a grave matter, let me urge upon you to act with that caution which the grave nature of the question demands, etc.

These three extracts are not here copied in the order of their position in the governor's message, but they show more plainly as they stand, the idiosyncrasies of his mind. The admission of bribery as a common practice is complete; the defense of Delaware as to the security of the elective franchise guaranteed to all voters is spirited, and the comparison with other states in this regard patriotic; and, finally, the notice to outside critics to tend to their own affairs is severe and parliamentary at the same time. He then recommends that the constitution be so changed that the refusal of a tax collector to give a receipt for taxes paid be ranked as a misdemeanor, and in the same breath the Legislature is cautioned against haste in changing the organic law. It would be necessary to enter into a constitutional study in order to fully display the stark inconsistencies of this message. It may not be amiss to remind the reader that Delaware is living under a written law framed by the constitutional convention of 1792. The most important change made since that date was the amendment of 1831, which makes it all but impossible to call another constitutional convention. It has been frequently tried but in vain. Among the most glaring anachronisms of this venerable instrument may be mentioned equal county representation regardless of population, an exclusive office-appointing executive, a veto-exempt Legislature, and, finally and most important of all, a taxed elective franchise. The generally recognized abuses in the matter of tax-receipts is the occasion of the governor's resentment of outside criticism concerning an ill-guarded elective franchise. The illegal disenfranchisement of Delaware voters by refusing such receipts has long been a public scandal. Why Gov. Biggs would make such a crime a misdemeanor rather than a felony is difficult to explain; and why he does not urge the abolition of taxed suffrage is also a puzzle. This system is the tap-root of Delaware corruption in politics. As the matter now stands, Delaware figures among our thrifty common-

wealths as an ancient character arrayed in 18th century clothes which Gov. Biggs sponges and darns with fatuous deliberation and ceremony.

We have considered the utterances of four democratic governors. Let us now examine the republican messages.

Gov. R. W. Waterman of California says :

The frauds and errors discovered in the recent election have demonstrated beyond question that it is absolutely necessary to throw more safeguards around the mode and manner of conducting our elections. Upon a fair ballot and an honest count rests the perpetuity of our government. . . . This is a matter that reaches above and beyond any party considerations ; it is one in which every citizen who believes in good order and who favors a form of government like ours is deeply interested. The casting of a free and untrammelled ballot is the highest and proudest privilege an American citizen enjoys, and every effort should be made to surround the ballot-box against all possible fraud and combinations to defeat the will of the people in any particular, in any district, ward, township, or precinct. I desire to direct your attention to the fact that the laws should be so changed as to provide speedy and prompt modes for election contests for all state officers. . . . The law should be so amended as to provide for a state board of canvassers ; a time should be fixed for the board to meet, open, and canvass the returns for state officers, at which meeting representatives of the political parties should be permitted to be present to witness and examine the returns which are to be sent to the secretary of state and by him kept sealed and unopened until the meeting of the board. . . . The time and manner of registration should be clearly settled and should be as nearly uniform as possible in all the interior counties of the state. In some counties there is a re-registration for every general election ; while in others additions only are made to the great register of new names, and it frequently occurs that the names of dead men or of persons who have removed from the county or changed their residence are carried on the great register for several years. This should not be permitted, as it opens the door to fraud and illegal voting. One of the greatest evils and faults of our system is the manner in which election officers have been appointed, especially in the city of San Francisco. Men totally unfit, either by intelligence, morality or instinct, have been named as officers of election without a redeeming qualification in them. Men have been designated to register in the precincts, receive, count and tally the votes and make up as they please election returns, who would not scruple to resort to all that is vile in human nature, to rob the respectable citizen of his birthright, either for a paltry reward of place or for a consideration to advance the interest of some scheming or debased politician. It may be said that the law now provides for the appointment of good and respectable election officers ; but the fact that the

law has not been carried out in its full letter and spirit is the best answer that the laws should be so strengthened as to compel, under heavy penalties, the appointing power to name a class of tax-payers as election officers who can be compelled to discharge so high a trust and will not feel that the task is onerous or burdensome. Places should be selected in light and airy rooms, in as respectable localities as it is possible to secure, and where the ballots can be received and counted in the presence and full view of accredited representatives of all parties; where the caller of the ticket can be seen and if necessary closely watched as he reads off the names, and where the clerks who tally can be seen doing their work honestly and fairly to all. Most of all, adopt measures for a prompt and speedy canvass of the vote. It should be plain, simple, and correct. No delays should be permitted of waiting from two days to a week to know the result of any election either national, state, or municipal. . . . With our present election laws (which in many respects are excellent) amended to meet the requirements and demands of the people, with honest, representative and intelligent election officers we can carry on elections in this state which will give all the people, whatever may be their political beliefs, confidence in our institutions and inspire them with a more zealous and earnest desire to come forward and participate in the affairs of our state for its well-being and continued prosperity.

This is in its way a model executive document. The evils are bravely stated and the language of righteous indignation is not emasculated by weak recommendations as to side issues. The election frauds of last autumn (in San Francisco particularly), both at the primaries and at the polls, the bribing, bullying, ballot stealing, and even bloodshed, followed as it all was by weary, not to say demoralizing contested elections, give point to every word Gov. Waterman has written, and his proposed remedies fit his diagnosis; while his final appeal to the better classes for participation in politics shows the genuine American instincts of the farmer governor of California.

Gov. Cyrus G. Luce of Michigan says in his message:

One of the most dangerous crimes that can be committed is to corrupt the ballot. Our laws against the use of improper means to influence voters are stringent and seem to be ample. Bribery by this use of money or other valuables is severely punished by our laws. And still rumors are current that those wholesome laws are violated with impunity. Whether this is well-founded or not, it is weakening the confidence in our system. And to avoid the injurious effects of this, it is hoped that the election laws may be amended in such a way as to render bribery more difficult and detection more certain. The open charges made in so many quarters that our elections are controlled by the cor-

rupt use of money in glaring violation of law are painful to hear and alarming if true. If false, those charges are a gross libel upon our civilization. Unfortunate for state and nation will it be, if the fact is established that men are elected to positions of public trust because of their wealth or ability to use or command money for illegitimate purposes in securing place. What is known as the Massachusetts system is earnestly commended to your careful consideration. From that community we hear of little or no complaint against corrupt influences at the polls. To this important subject your best thought is invoked.

The objection to the remarks of Gov. Luce is that they are tentative and vague. He neither affirms or denies that bribery prevails extensively in Michigan. The inference is that in his mind something is wrong, because he recommends the Massachusetts ballot system. And yet he rather bewilders the reader by stating that under that system Massachusetts shows little or no sign of political corruption. What is known as the Massachusetts system is a modification of the Australian system, but as Massachusetts has placed it upon its statute books but not held an election under it, it is difficult to see what Gov. Luce means. He either has not examined the subject, or, having done so, finds no cause for anxiety.

Perhaps it would be considered hypercritical to include Gov. Royal C. Taft of Rhode Island in the strictures of vagueness or indifference such as Mr. Luce has shown. The Rhode Island executive dismisses the subject with the remark: "The question of ballot reform, now being considered by a joint special committee of your body, will come before you for action. The subject is one now occupying the public mind and its importance demands your serious consideration." Rhode Island is passing through a crisis in constitutional and political matters, and the scandals at elections are notorious. It would not be fair to say, however, that he has done unwisely in refraining from discussing ballot reform after the Legislature has taken the matter up.

Gov. J. A. Martin of Kansas treats the subject in a terse, business like way, and tells the Legislature what remedial legislation is needed:

I again call the attention of the Legislature to the fact that our present registration law invites and encourages rather than prevents and punishes illegal voting. All good citizens of all political opinions

recognize the necessity of stringent laws to secure purity, honesty, and correctness in the exercise of the elective franchise. A free ballot and an honest count wrongs no one. Every legal voter should be protected in the full enjoyment of his rights at the ballot box, and at the same time no one should be allowed to cast a vote who has not all the qualifications of a legal voter. A just, wise and adequate, registry law will secure these results, and the Legislature should at its present session provide such a law.

Our third group of executive messages comes from "the four doubtful States,"—Connecticut, Indiana, New York, and New Jersey, the governors of which are, so it proves, two of them republican and two of them democratic. In these important commonwealths strung along through the very heart of our country the untoward elements of political chicanery were stirred to their depths. The most revolting and disquieting phase of venality at the expense of political conviction was that it penetrated the rural districts. We are accustomed to fraud in the low wards of cities, and are hardly surprised when we see the proof of it, because the proportion of foreign, un-Americanized, and ignorant voting population in our municipalities is so great. But in the country towns we have hitherto felt sure that no true American will sell his vote. But November 6 has undeceived us. In Connecticut the Yankee farmer drove a hard bargain for his suffrage in numerous instances. In some towns it is said the market price reached \$50, and in isolated cases even a higher figure. "At individual sale," says one Connecticut boss, "the farmer is the best man to approach for his vote. Foreigners can be reached through a leader and not individually. The Connecticut farmers must be bought one by one." The scandalous scenes in some of the Connecticut towns at the November election were unprecedented. It was not a naturalized voters' raid for money; the foreign vote was bought, but Americans living upon land that perchance has passed down in the family from colonial owners, dickered with both republican and democratic heelers as though citizenship were a clover-lot to be harvested. Naturally Gov. Morgan G. Bulkeley's message was anxiously looked forward to by all good citizens, especially in New England. He said :

The policy and tradition of the state in all its legislation has been and, in the statutes as they now exist, is to provide that every elector shall

be permitted the exercise of the sacred right of the elective franchise, free from the control and knowledge of others as to their individual action or choice. The present provisions of the law fail in the minds of many to provide that absolute secrecy necessary for the fullest and freest exercise of the franchise : renewed demands have been made to successive Legislatures for relief in the belief that such legislation as was asked would tend greatly to the welfare of the state in the purity of its elections, and provide against imaginary or possible intimidation of the voter. Such measures as have been presented from time to time have failed to receive approval after careful examination as too cumbrous in their execution or suited to the needs of the intelligent people of the state. I would advise, however, that this subject should again receive the thoughtful consideration of the General Assembly, and that some law, simple in its character and at the same time effective in its operation, be enacted for the protection and secrecy of the ballot. The systems proposed to which my attention has been attracted as suggested and enacted in other states seem too extensive in their provisions and involve unnecessary delays to the elector and large expense to the public without compensating security.

The governor proceeds to recommend a modification of the registration laws and the adoption of a provision enforcing the reading of the constitution or statutes as an educational test for voters. All things considered, the words of the Connecticut governor are very disappointing. There is not a whisper of bribery ;—while intimidation, which is not prevalent in Connecticut to any measurable extent, is denounced and the Australian ballot system unmistakably discredited.

In striking contrast to Gov. Bulkeley's ill-judged candor are the following words of Gov. David B. Hill of New York in his message :

It is believed that the recent presidential election was the most corrupt of any in the history of the country so far as the direct use of money was concerned in influencing the electors, and public sentiment is naturally awakened to the desirability of some relief. The peculiar causes which induce this immense corruption are apparent. It was adroitly proclaimed that the success of one of the great political parties would endanger certain of the manufacturing interests of the country which had theretofore been accustomed to receive the fostering aid of the government at the expense of the masses of the people. . . . The anxiety to subserve selfish and private advantage rather than the general interests of the public naturally led to the campaign being conducted upon illegal business principles, whereby it is asserted that electors were bought and sold like goods and chattels in the open market. It is claimed that at least \$100,000 were expended in the 20th and 24th Con-

gressional districts in this state in efforts made therein to elect congressmen and to secure electors believed to be favorable to the policy of fostering private interests.

After bringing a serious indictment against the conduct of electors in the Empire State, Gov. Hill deliberately draws the sting by quoting in evidence facts that place the blame upon the republicans. He exposes himself to the imputation of using an official document as the vehicle of partisanship. The menace to our institutions in a chattel electorship is that both parties accepted the gauge of battle, and bought freely. His Excellency takes up ten pages out of a message of thirty pages in the discussion of the subject of ballot reform. He praises the election laws of New York, recommends amendments rendering the act of bribery more difficult, and isolating the polls from party runners, favors a law compelling electors to vote and to cast a secret ballot furnished if thought necessary, at the expense of the state, incorrectly states that the English or Australian system compels each candidate to furnish ballots, opposes the marking of ballots by ballot clerks, thinks that the election districts throughout the state should be multiplied in order to facilitate the work of receiving votes, denounces political mottoes on "pay envelopes" to employés, favors a compulsory statement of election expenses to be lodged by each candidate with the Secretary of State immediately after each election, applauds the Massachusetts law giving each employé two hours of working time on election days to perform his political duties and finally warns the Legislature against sudden and radical changes of election laws or the adoption of any "pet scheme of some club, association, or other self-constituted or irresponsible body or individual without any practical experience in the public service and charged with no responsibility for corrupt legislation, but filled with pride of authorship, seeks (seeking ?) to impose upon the Legislature its or his own peculiar plan regardless of its actual merits." In view of the struggle now at its heat in Albany, in the light of which Gov. Hill's message must be judged, it will be unadvisable to analyze this message here. After his sweeping admissions of bribery and fraud, the wonder is that Gov. Hill should assume the responsibility of obstructing any bill constructed on the general lines of the

Australian ballot method. The insinuation concerning irresponsible bodies inspired by "pride of authorship" is the outgrowth of that cynicism which trained politicians of all shades exhibit more and more toward men in private life who discuss affairs of state. Gov. Hill's message is a curious fusion of the spirit of apparent candor and the instincts of the martinet. He is appalled at the spread of bribery, confesses for his enemies, distrusts lay reformers, calls upon the State to force voters to the polls when the stay-at-home contingent is not important enough to be considered a political evil, yet vetoes a ballot bill drafted from laws that have proved successful after years of trial in other countries.

It will be seen by the subjoined extracts from the message of Gov. Robert S. Green of New Jersey, that at least one democratic executive takes issue with the Hill view of intricate election machinery like the Australian method. Gov. Green frankly spreads the untoward fact of bribery upon his page, and then suggests such remedies as appeals to his common sense :

Our statute books are full of laws for the protection of the elector and the punishment of those who seek to improperly influence the exercise of the elective franchise. They seem so far to have utterly failed of their purpose. The corruptor and the corrupt seem willing to take the risk of detection, indictment and conviction. Corruption stalks unpunished around the election polls ; and men, dignified by law with the privilege and power of electors barter away their manhood and citizenship as merchandise in the market to the highest bidder. If open corruption of the voter is not carried on, the flimsiest pretexts of employment at exorbitant and extravagant amounts are resorted to, until it is notorious that immense sums of money are spent to effect political results. One of the most astounding incidents of this undermining of our institutions is that public political morals seem to be well nigh debauched, and men who are high in public estimation, who in their lives are exemplary and correct not only look with complacency upon this debasement of the franchise, but willingly contribute sums which they must know will be improperly and illegally expended, and triumphantly exult in the success of the corrupt employment of their contributions. . . . Our system lacks some provision which shall make the use of money in elections and the intimidation of the voters ineffective. Making it a crime and providing for its punishment fails as a preventive remedy, and the time has come when some other remedial provision should be adopted. No other plan seems to offer so

many advantages as the complete isolation of the voter in preparing and casting his ballot. . . . The details of the system may require much care in their preparation, but the plan of furnishing the voter with his ticket and his perfect isolation while preparing it give more promise of preventing the growing evil of corruption and intimidation at the polls than any other which has been brought to my attention. I again recommend that violation of the election laws be made a cause of challenge. . . . I also recommend that the law with reference to what shall be considered as intimidation or corrupt practices shall be made more clear by defining more fully what acts shall constitute such offenses. . . . The election laws in England, once notorious for corruption, have through the operation of law been made free from that vice. They are subject to the review of the judges, whose determination settles the question, a system which cannot be adopted here as to our legislative bodies, as each is by the constitution made the sole judge of the election of its own members ; but the other system which has been adopted and tried successfully in Australia and certain parts of this country can with proper care as to its details, be constitutionally put into operation.

These words have no uncertain sound. The governor appears to be aiming at general results and spins no fine theories. It remains to be seen what effect his urgent appeal will have upon the New Jersey Legislature.

The last message which we shall examine is that of Gov. Alvin P. Hovey of Indiana, a state that probably felt the shock of the November battle more severely than any in the union. The now common expressions,—“blocks of five” and “the floaters,” designating gangs of purchased voters and the purchasable vote, originated in the Indiana canvass and under circumstances still in dispute and at present a matter of issue in the criminal courts. That there was ground for belief among men entrusted with campaign funds that the “floaters” of Indiana were numerous may be reasonably inferred from the words of Gov. Hovey to the Legislature after the elections were over and the party to which he is allied had triumphed :

In the late election, charges of fraud and corruption have been freely made by the contending parties, and while we are not authorized to sit in judgment as to the particular acts or cases, we cannot shut our eyes to the facts. There is reason to believe that the ballot has been polluted, not only in this state but in many of the other states of the union and in both political parties, until in the eyes of many respectable men it seems to be no longer regarded as a crime. This cannot continue and

increase if we hope to perpetuate our free institutions. If it does, a moneyed aristocracy will soon control the destinies of our nation, and that liberty which we now so highly prize will be lost to us forever. The demagogue who would buy the vote of his poor and needy neighbor is far more corrupt and vile than his victim and will only wait his chance to sell the liberties of his country for a higher price. As a rule, he who buys a vote will sell his own.

It is greatly to Gov. Hovey's credit that he has had the candor and courage to include his own party in his arraignment of political bribers. He is unsound, we think, in declaring that the bribe-giver is "far more corrupt and vile" than the bribe-taker. However, no good purpose is served by recognizing two degrees of self-abasement in a dishonorable dicker. The legislation suggested by his Excellency is practical and to the point. He reminds the General Assembly that the Indiana constitution has been disregarded in not providing for a registration of voters; he recommends smaller election precincts, polling places isolated from political runners, the disenfranchisement of voters who bribe or are bribed for the first offense, and imprisonment for the second offense, as well as the disenfranchisement of those who exact contributions from candidates, and he favors a law making false challenges of legal voters at the polls punishable by fine and imprisonment.

We have reached the bottom of the list—this dismal and alarming succession of executive warnings. Bribery without precedent in our history is pilloried in all modes and considered from all sides. It is not the purpose of the writer to draw a political moral or to examine what he considers the causes for this epidemic of political vice, but simply to place in compact form the various treatments proposed by the governors. Taken as a body, the six republican and the six democratic governors have not spoken the wisest word in a confessedly serious emergency. They are strong in the academic denunciation of political crime, but many of them lack grip in formulating legislation. Political debauchery cannot be cured, it is true, by statutes without the legislation of just minds and the assertion of that popular sentiment which is the genius of our American civilization. Still, the States have a duty in the premises, and the country now looks to the Legislatures to begin the work of reform.

MASON A. GREEN.

ARTICLE II.—ECONOMICS OF THE STRIKE.

THE man who burned his barn to destroy the rats that ate his corn has been much laughed at for his folly. Yet he has many imitators even among those who laugh loudest. For this barn-burning is no imaginary fable; it is an every day fact which is of late becoming only too common. Again and again we see this suicidal method of cure applied to the ills of society, and it is growing in favor with those whom it injures most. Men destroy the sources of their own livelihood and doom themselves to poverty or starvation in the vain attempt to injure others who are filching a few handfuls from the store. Hungry mobs, inspired by envy and revenge, set fire to car-loads of corn and other food and in a few hours destroy that which would satisfy their hunger for many days. Restless workers demand higher wages, and if their demands are not promptly met, by wanton acts they empty the treasuries from which their wages come as though wages could be increased by such means. Idlers ask for work, and then, as a means of securing it, block the very industries that would furnish them remunerative employment. And so in many ways wealth is destroyed or production is hindered in the endeavor to punish or to cripple those who are supposed to take more than their share. The result is always the same. The loss sustained in curing the evil is vastly greater than the evil itself. The blow aimed at a real or supposed thief rebounds with double force upon the striker. The rats scamper off in safety to new stores of corn, while he who kindled the flames mourns the loss of both store-house and corn, and perhaps dies of starvation.

In the recent developments of social agitation the strike has become a very popular means of adjusting difficulties. Workmen become dissatisfied with their wages or with the hours of labor or they feel that in some way or other the treatment they receive at the hands of their employers is unjust, and immediately they strike. Or employers have some

grievance against their workmen, and a lock-out ensues. In their essential nature the strike and the lockout are identical, the lockout being only a strike on the part of employers. In either of its forms a strike implies the stoppage of valuable production, and a consequent loss of material wealth. Although there may be no destructive violence, yet he who hinders a day's productive labor, impoverishes the community just as much as he who destroys the wealth that has already been produced in a day. Whoever strikes for higher wages, by his own act paralyzes the hand that would pay the wages.

Within the past five or ten years strikes have become almost an every-day occurrence in our land. We can scarcely take up a daily newspaper without seeing an account of some such disturbance in the industrial world. In fact the strike is considered by many as a necessary method of settling the differences between employers and workmen. As the old-fashioned doctors were accustomed to bleed every patient, thus reducing his already exhausted vital powers, as the first step toward his restoration; so the modern social agitator would cure the ills of poverty by first impoverishing society. Strikes are a great waste of material wealth, to say nothing of their moral results. As they are too often conducted, they imply the absolute destruction of wealth; and when conducted in the best possible manner they necessitate a great loss to the community. It usually happens that the loss falls most heavily in the end upon those who take part in the strike.

Perhaps we should not say that strikes are always indefensible or that they are wholly unnecessary. They are, like war, an extreme measure, and may be forced upon those who recognize their wastefulness. Those who are most directly concerned in a strike may not be really responsible for its occurrence or for its results, and we ought not too hastily to lay the blame on their shoulders; but whenever a strike is carried beyond the most peaceful measures, whatever its provocation overt violence is always chargeable to the immediate perpetrators. In the case of a peaceful and lawfully conducted strike, if such there be, we may be obliged to unravel some intricate meshes of cause before we can say with any degree of justice where the blame rests. But whoever is responsible

for them, the fact remains beyond the possibility of dispute that strikes are a great waste; and any adjustment of the relations of labor and capital which shall put an end to the necessity or possibility of strikes will be an immense boon to our nation. It will save millions of dollars annually, and will be an important factor in the relief of poverty.

In the U. S. Census report for 1880 we find the following suggestive figures regarding the strikes and lockouts of the previous year. The total amount of wages lost during the year was \$3,711,097. The aggregate number of days lost by idleness was 1,989,872. The number of men idle was 64,779. The proportion of strikes to lockouts was—strikes 88%, lockouts 12%.

It will be observed that no account is made of any losses excepting those necessarily involved in every strike, viz: the loss of wages and of productive labor. Many people forget this latter item, and think only of the wages, but the loss of labor is always greater than the amount of wages, since a day's work must not only equal in value the wages paid, but must bring at least a slight profit besides. Hence the direct loss of wealth caused by the strikes of 1879 was something over seven millions of dollars, to which doubtless there should be added a large sum for property destroyed and productive labor indirectly hampered. And when we have gathered them all the figures are much smaller than for any subsequent year.

Official reports estimate the loss of wages in the St. Louis railroad strike of 1886 to have been one million dollars. And that was but one of many strikes during the same year, though it was probably greater than any of the others. Here too we must reckon the loss in productive labor, which would add more than another million, making more than two million dollars direct loss in a single strike.

Still greater were the losses in the great railway strike of 1877. To say that one hundred thousand men were idle for many days, and to compute the amount of wages lost would but feebly indicate the cost of that movement. According to the census report, and also the report of the Senate committee, the direct loss of railway property destroyed by fire and otherwise in the city of Pittsburgh alone is estimated at from eight

to ten million dollars. Professor Ely in his book, "The Labor Movement in America," states that the total loss of property in different parts of the country was not less than one hundred million dollars. Add to this the fact that the entire railway system of the United States was disturbed, and trade interrupted, and the loss will appear very much greater. We are as a nation at the present time dependent on the railways as never before. The railroad is a necessity to make possible our enormous exchanges of products. The farms of the west are useless without easy access to the markets of the east; and the factories of the east must close their doors if they are cut off from communication with the rest of the country. If even for a few days our chief lines of railway should stop their traffic, there would be intense suffering in many parts of the country. Any extended railroad blockade would be felt to the remotest village on the continent. Not tradesmen only, but farmers and laborers of every kind would feel the effect of the depression. Every city from the Atlantic to the Pacific felt the shock of that great strike; and we can imagine, though we cannot compute, the loss of trade arising from want of communication, and the loss of perishable freight which must be added to all figures that are given regarding the strike. There was in that strike a wanton destruction of property surpassing anything that has occurred in recent strikes. Thousands of bushels of corn and other provisions were burned with the railroad property by men who were clamoring for food. The original purpose of the strike seems to have been lost sight of by many in the insane desire for destruction and revenge.

The engineers' strike on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroad in March, 1888, is still fresh in the minds of all. It was remarkable chiefly for the persistence with which the men held together, and the attempts that were made to force the other railroads of the country into a participation in the strike. The following estimates have been published regarding the cost of that strike:

Loss of wages on the C. B. & Q. road	\$306,185
Pay-roll of the Brotherhood	159,450
Grievance committee's loss of wages.....	30,870
" " expense account.....	23,050

Non-union men subsidized	\$20,000
Expense of headquarters	8,875
Santa Fe, and other strikes	24,700
Cost of switchmen's strike	25,000
Miscellaneous loss to workmen	10,000
Loss to road in traffic receipts	1,800,000
Cost of engaging new men	50,000
Special police protection	180,000
Damage to property	50,000
Miscellaneous	20,000
Total cost of strike	\$2,701,580

Not long ago a committee appointed by the U. S. Senate to investigate the relations between capital and labor, included in their report the following figures regarding a series of strikes in different parts of Europe. They are most carefully authenticated.

In the year 1871, 9,000 engineers struck, losing 20 weeks of time, and \$900,000 in wages. 15,000 striking bolt makers were idle 40 weeks and lost in wages \$300,000. Colliers struck to the number of 18,000, were idle 12 weeks, and lost in wages the sum of \$1,980,000. In the year 1872, 10,000 builders struck and were idle 12 weeks, losing \$600,000. In 1873, 70,000 colliers were idle on a strike 11 weeks, and lost \$3,850,000 in wages. In 1877, masons numbering 17,000 were idle 33 weeks at a loss of \$280,000. And in 1878, 30,000 cotton mill hands stayed out on a strike 9 weeks at a loss in wages of \$1,150,000.

In all these cases we have the minimum figures, representing only the three necessary elements of loss which enter into every strike, namely, the loss of wages, the wasted time, and the number of men withdrawn from productive labor. It is easy to see that if this were the whole story, a strike is an expensive luxury, a great drain upon the wealth of the community. But the figures already given regarding the railroad strikes in our own land show that these three elements constitute very much less than the total amount of loss. There are other chapters to the story. Other elements enter in which greatly increase the cost of the strike to the community. There is the destruction of property, the stoppage of commerce, the crippling of other related industries, and the unsettling of public confidence which is so essential to commercial prosperity and social strength.

The question which presents itself to every working man of to-day is, *Do strikes pay?* In view of the statistics already given, but one answer is possible. Strikes do not pay. They never have paid; and they never can pay. Can any sane man imagine that the poor people or the laborers of the land were made any richer by the absolute destruction of one hundred million dollars of the national wealth in 1877? Who is so foolish as to suppose that the C. B. & Q. railroad was in a position to pay better wages to its engineers after a loss of nearly three millions of dollars? Any man who will give the subject a moment's thought can understand that every dollar of wealth destroyed, every day of idleness, every hour of productive labor hindered makes the community poorer, and drains the sources of supply from which poor and rich alike draw their sustenance.

But some will say that while it is true that the community as a whole is made poor, the workmen do gain something by a successful strike. They compel a more equitable division of the products of labor, and so even though the remedy be severe, its final effects justify the means used. Many who would not for a moment countenance lawlessness or the destruction of property, look upon the strike when free from these elements as a reasonable method of securing justice in the relations of employer and employee. The following figures have been presented as proving the gain to workmen accruing from a successful strike. They are gathered from the statistics of a series of successful strikes in various parts of Great Britain which occurred between the years 1873 and 1878.

In the year 1873, from a total of 8,900 workmen in various trades and communities, 1,000 struck for higher wages. The loss in wages averaged \$9.00 a week for 4 weeks, making an aggregate loss of \$36,000. The strike being successful, the workmen received \$3.75 each per week for the 4 weeks of the strike, and secured an advance in wages for the entire number (8,900), averaging 62½ cents each per week, or an aggregate of \$289,250 for a year. We have then as a result of these strikes a net gain to the working men of \$268,250 in a year.

In 1874, from a total of 10,700 men, 1,100 struck. Loss in wages at \$9.00 per week for 4 weeks, \$39,600. Strike pay at \$3.75 per week, \$16,500. Advance in wages at 62½ cents each

per week, \$347,750 for a year. Balance in favor of the workmen, \$324,650.

In 1875, from a total of 9,400 men, 1,050 struck. Loss in wages at \$9.00 per week for 4 weeks, \$37,800. Strike pay at \$3.75 per week, \$15,750. Advance in wages at 62½ cents each per week, \$305,500 for a year. Balance in favor of the workmen, \$283,450.

In 1876, from a total of 10,500 men, 1,075 struck. Loss in wages, at \$9 each per week, 4 weeks, \$38,700. Strike pay at \$3.75 each per week, \$16,125 advance in wages at 66⅔ cents each per week, \$364,035 for a year. Balance in favor of the workmen, \$326,335.

In 1877, from a total of 6,500 men, 900 struck. Loss in wages at \$9 each per week 4 weeks, \$32,400. Strike pay at \$3.75 each per week, \$13,500. Advance in wages at 58½ cents each per week, \$197,145 for a year. Balance in favor of the workmen, \$178,245.

In 1878, from a total of 1,300 men, 500 struck. Loss in wages at \$9 each per week 4 weeks, \$18,000. Strike pay at \$3.75 each per week, \$7,500. Advance in wages at 56½ cents each per week, \$38,025 for a year. Balance in favor of the workmen, \$27,525. (See *Frazer's Mag.*, vol. c., p. 777.)

The figures here given do not represent all the strikes which occurred in the years mentioned. They were taken from the successful strikes only. During the same years there were very many strikes that were wholly or partially unsuccessful and they were a total loss to the strikers as well as to the community in general. It will be observed that the amount of gain in each case is for one year only. The favorable balance will have the more significance when we consider that in most cases the gain was permanent.

This is the very best showing that can be made from a few of the most successful strikes, and the gain derived is wholly one-sided. We must always remember, however, that this gain is fully counterbalanced by the losses of the unsuccessful strikes. Very many, especially of the more recent strikes, are unsuccessful and result not only in a loss of time and wages while the strike is in progress, but often large numbers of workmen are thrown out of employment and forced to remain for a long time

in idleness or to seek other work to which they are unaccustomed. Such an unsuccessful strike occurred recently in the coke regions of Pennsylvania. The strikers lost \$100,000 in wages, and of the 12,000 men who went out, 5,000 were permanently discharged. The engineers' strike on the C. B. & Q. railroad was also a total failure. The waste of three million dollars brought no gain at all to the strikers, but only resulted in a complete victory for the management of the road, and the loss of their positions for the greater portion of the men. Such has been the fate of nearly every great strike in America, so that were we to draw up a balance sheet the results of this method of settling labor disputes would be found to tell heavily against the working men.

A strike organized without sufficient cause seldom succeeds. It ought not to succeed, since it is apt to disturb the peace of an entire community and cause greatest discomfort to those who are in no way concerned in the dispute from which it sprung. An ill-advised or an unjust strike may by its losses more than counterbalance the gain derived from one that is successful. From this point of view strikes pay in the inverse ratio of their frequency: but at best they pay one class of society at the expense of others.

This fact ought ever to be kept in mind. In a certain limited sense peaceful and successful strikes are profitable to the workmen. But *every strike, whether successful or not, is a total loss to the community as a whole.* Thus, referring to the illustrations given above, in the year 1873 the community lost \$36,000 plus the profit thereon in productive labor. In 1874 the loss was \$39,600, plus profit. In 1875, the loss was \$37,800, plus profit. And so through all the years. This is the loss as it appears in the figures given, and no one can tell how much of incidental loss should be added. And this loss can never be made up in any way. It is like so much wealth cast into the flames and utterly consumed.

A strike is a war measure which may at times be necessary (if war is ever necessary) to meet oppression and dishonesty, and to secure the rights of a particular class of men; but the time wasted, the property destroyed, and the production hindered are an absolute loss to the world at large. They are the indemnity which society pays for injustice.

By draining the treasury of our land at the rate of more than ten millions of dollars every year, strikes have become a prominent factor among the causes of poverty. They have increased the evil they were designed to cure. They have opened a wide avenue of waste whose effects are felt most keenly by laboring men. Surely their day is nearly past. The intelligence of American working men will not long permit them to use so expensive and barbarous a remedy for social diseases. The progressive spirit of the age demands the use of methods which shall be at once more economical and more permanent in their results.

G. H. HUBBARD.

ARTICLE III.—THE COMMONPLACE IN FICTION.

No fact strikes more often or more keenly the observer of modern fiction than its tendency toward the commonplace. Both authorship and criticism abound in the signs of its steadily increasing influence. Even so great a lover of marvel as Sir Walter Scott professes to make his exploits and wonders subsidiary to the delineation of manners and customs, and the same feeling has been more or less handed down to later romance. Macaulay, in his essay on *Madame d'Arblay*, censures her excessive use of oddities, and notes with favor the comparatively every-day types from whom Miss Austen drew her more delicate portraits. George Eliot began her literary career, in her *Scenes from Clerical Life*, by invoking the interest and sympathy of her readers for the great mass of common people whose joys and sorrows make up everywhere the bulk of life. With courage augmented by success she repeated and emphasized this protest in *Adam Bede*. In this country Mr. Howells has based much of his fiction and criticism on the idea expressed by one of his characters that "the commonplace is just that light, impalpable, aerial essence which they've never got into their confounded books yet." "The novelist," he goes on, "who could interpret the common feelings of common people would have the answer to the 'riddle of the painful earth' on his tongue." The Russian novel, meanwhile, has been giving actuality to ideas which on English and American soil were still largely theoretic. In Count Tolstoi's writings the commonplace is not merely powerful; it is dominant, and its complete supremacy produces a change from the older fiction which amounts almost to revolution. He describes a common thunder storm in the same spirit that another man would describe a meteoric shower. He paints the routine of life as exactly as others do its crises. He approaches the common influences of his own age and nation, such as, for example, the hunt, the theatre, the ball, in the same temper that other men approach the corresponding influences of foreign nations and

remote ages. Every incident which presents itself to him for treatment grounds its claim for respect on the share which it has in the universal life of man. The commonplace, in his hands, is no longer a theory which the world can afford to slight or smile at; it is a reality, whose claim to the consideration and judgment of mankind, like that of all realities, is peremptory and undisputed.

When one first meets this idea, one is inclined to think it at war with human nature. It is certainly so far at war with the past that fiction in accepting it disowns and denies the feelings from which its own origin is derived. Under whatever name it has disguised itself, whether as the supernatural, the marvelous, the odd, the rare, or the eminent, it has always been the exceptional, that which violates the ordinary structure of things or reverses the normal course of events, which has delighted and allured mankind. The Middle Ages, among whose narrations we must grope to find the roots of our modern fiction, never dreamed of admiring the commonplace. The group of eager faces that bent their dilated eyes on the monk or palmer rehearsing his saintly legend prized his narrative only for the marvels it contained. The squires and yeomen who left the wine-glass half drained and the shield half burished to throng the hall where the wandering harper sang the deeds of chivalry, were moved by no higher feeling than a love of the marvelous. It was the same in the simpler pursuits of life. The host of the wayside inn, delaying with yet one more hurried question the already mounted traveler at his door, craved from him only the rarities which had marked his journey. These good people have transmitted to their modern descendants not a little of their own way of thinking. If in our times the passion is not so great, yet the devices for its gratification have so multiplied as to render it even more conspicuous. The immense majority of the fictions which are poured out from our teeming presses are written, published, and read for no other reason than their capacity to gratify this feeling. Its influence here is only one phase of its universal ascendancy. The aim of most conversation, as of most letter-writing, is to sift out of the great mass of things the few rarities which have brightened their monotony. The newsboy

sells his journals, the conjurer draws his crowd, the theatrical manager fills his house, by adroit appeals to this master-passion. The cheap museums cater to its grosser forms. Anything that is abnormal, that violates ordinary laws, that shows us nature, as it were, standing on her head, is eagerly caught up and turned into an agency for feeding the avarice of the few and the curiosity of the many. Culture itself is not free from this tendency. It numbers among its unconscious subjects even those men whose intelligence has taught them to find in the commonplace the true source of values. The newspaper which distracts our minds from our morning coffee records, not the regular order of daily activities, but the inversions by which it is broken; and the books among which we divide our evening leisure are often only more delicate touches on the same powerful string. In the face of this feeling so manifold in its aspects and so despotic in sway, comes the quiet assertion of recent thinkers that the commonplace is the great subject for the artist's contemplation and portrayal.

This counter-current in modern life has not flowed exclusively from any one source; but nothing has contributed more to its formation than the development of science. The direct result of scientific teaching in limiting credulity has done something toward this end; the contagion of its spirit has done even more. The stronghold of the marvelous has always been the supernatural. No force has ever so mastered the imaginations of men as that which professes to emanate from the unseen world. The great mass of superstitions which thus arose yielded to the new spirit of inquiry. The saintly legend, the ghost story, the fairy tale, the imputations of witchcraft, all disappeared before the same dispersing touch. The old fancy which made the elfin ring vanish at the approach of daybreak was only the exquisite symbol of the host of superstitions dissipated by the dawn of science. The new influence seemed at first destined to narrow and to despoil. It took away from our ancestors that fabulous world which was to them no less actual a possession than their cattle or their acres; it fenced in the imagination, and shut up life within the bare round of daily trivialities. Yet out of these very commonplaces, within which it confined the roving fancy of earlier times, science has evoked

new wonders which take rank with those which it supplanted. This is so undeniable that we involuntarily borrow the old terms of magic and enchantment to describe its achievements, and our poets call its revelations fairy tales. It is not so much the greatness of these wonders, however, as their source to which we now wish to point attention. It has been from common surroundings, from the objects of daily contact and vision, from those things which it might have been expected man's senses would long ago have drained of all interest, that science has drawn its marvels. The rock, the water, the star, the plant, the animal, have each been investigated and forced to yield up its store of prodigies. The operations of nature have afforded the same results as her materials. The ordinary process has been raised into the exalted place formerly held by the anomaly or the catastrophe; and science, as if resolute to give back to the world all it had taken away, has even in large measure atoned for the inroads it made on religion, by revealing to us the same divine majesty in the fulfillment of law which our ancestors found in its abrogation.

The logical step by which the new tendency passed into fiction was easy. If common objects and forces reward investigation with such splendid results, why not also common feelings and actions? The change in the aim of fiction, however, sprang not so much from direct inference as from the great revolution in the general mind of which the scientific movement was the earliest and most brilliant outcome. There is a certain period in the lives of men, as in the history of nations, in which the common and the universal begin to draw to themselves a large part of that interest and regard which formerly flowed to their opposites. The commonplace is that which recurs often in space or time, and the man of culture cannot help but regard the endless repetition of this or that particular feature throughout the universe as a sort of stress or emphasis laid on it by nature in order to draw to it his earnest and prolonged attention. That which occurs everywhere and always must have occupied no small place in the intelligence that created the world, and deserves for that reason alone no light regard from the contemplating intelligence of man. Men feel that mere extent confers a certain dignity. "A patch of sand," says Mr. Lowell,

"is unpleasing; a desert has all the awe of ocean." An incident which, viewed as the single act of an individual, excites little interest, augments in worth, if looked at as the habit of a lifetime, and even rises almost into impressiveness when we regard it as the custom of an age. As our respect for the commonplace increases, we begin to feel its influence in a gradual decline of our love for rarities. We learn to think, at length, that the anomalies or pranks of nature bear the same relation to the regular and orderly arrangement of things that the levities of a great mind bear to its serious and solemn utterances. We cease to care for eccentricities, and pass by without a glance the tent that exhibits the two-headed woman. An opposite feeling slowly asserts itself, and makes us disdain the interest which we once took, or perhaps in our backsliding moments still take, in things which are simply monstrosities. As the regularity of law becomes more and more pleasing to us, we begin to feel toward all deviations from its symmetry and evenness the same repulsion that we have toward an object placed askew or awry. It is a feeling like this which, having already achieved so much in science, is now extending its supremacy over the domain of fiction.

The scientific spirit has been much aided in the accomplishment of its task by that other great factor in modern life, the spirit of democracy. The world of ideas is at length feeling the force of that mighty impulse which, under the name of republicanism, has already re-fashioned the world of action. We have transferred to the common man the functions which formerly belonged to the prince; we are just beginning to transfer to average humanity the interest and reverence which once flowed to the philosopher and the saint. A nobler idea, an idea which makes great men merely the employés of mankind, is gradually replacing the old feeling which made common men as much appendages to the hero as the tassels on his shield, and which afterwards, in a more refined form, centred all values in intellectual and moral pre-eminence. The average man, according to the new gospel, is the heart of things. All things besides are only his court and retinue, and even fiction herself is obliged to leave reluctantly her gods and heroes and to follow in his train. The very neglect with

which all ancient rhymers and story-tellers treat the common man has a pathos about it which appeals to a delicate chivalry in lofty natures. The highest claim which anything can have on noble minds is the claim of being neglected and despised. The true loyalist bends a more reverent knee to his deposed and exiled lord than to the same prince encompassed by regal splendors; the true lover of mankind honors it more in the bareness of plain average humanity than when clothed in the rich apparel of striking talents and virtues.

We have an interesting confirmation of the truth of this explanation in the fact that an exactly similar process has been working itself out in another great department of human thought. History has undergone the same metamorphosis that is now transforming fiction. The ancient chronicle was as obsequious to eminence as the ancient romance. The hero and the exploit embraced all that was worthy in character or memorable in action. The modern tendency has here as everywhere dethroned the lord and set up the people; history has become a record of the life of the masses. Common men, their labors, their sufferings, their feelings, their thoughts, have been the great subject of the modern historian's interest. No one disputes the benefit of this change. If something has been lost, if history has doffed its court livery, if it no longer spangles its pages with those splendid incidents which gave medieval narrative the glitter of a feudal pageant, it has on the other hand gained in moral dignity to a degree that is simply immeasurable. We dwell on this point on account of the singularly close analogy which links it to the processes now going on in fiction. In both the same love of marvel, originally absolute in its sway, has been slowly undermined by the great influences of modern life, and has yielded its place to its great rival, the love of the commonplace. It is the time-honored policy of conquerors to enlist in their own service the agencies of their vanquished opponents. It was, therefore, only natural that the spirit of science and the spirit of democracy, having subdued the old love of marvel, should appropriate and turn to their own uses its two leading agencies of history and fiction.

The observer who has appreciated the nobility of this transformation, and has noted its close accord with the nobler

tendencies of the age, is apt to conclude that he has found in this simple quality of commonness, or universality, a test by which to determine the artistic worth of things. But no sooner has he reached this haven of certainty than he begins to be perplexed by misgivings. Let us suppose for the moment universality to be the standard by which we decide the fitness of subjects for artistic delineation. What occurs, then, on an average, once every year will have a certain value, what happens every month or every week will be worth more; and the completion of this logical process will at length concentrate the highest value on such simple acts as dining, dressing, or walking, which recur every day or even every few hours. Our novelists of the new school paint weddings and funerals rather than elopements or earthquakes, on the ground that the latter events are mere breaks and interruptions in a circle of activities of which weddings and funerals constitute integral parts; but would not a strict fidelity to their own principles oblige them to place the daily details of life above either, since these by their regular recurrence make up a round of pursuits in relation to which even weddings and funerals must be looked on as mere breaks and anomalies? Then, again, how are we to deal with undoubted excellence when it happens to be rare? Must we really prefer a common brook to Niagara on the ground that every hillside can duplicate the one, while the whole girth of the planet cannot furnish a parallel to the other? One does not ask himself many questions of this kind before he sees that he cannot make universality the supreme test of excellence, its part in such cases is to influence, not to control, the judgment. There are other qualities possessed by objects which not only give equal pleasure, but, what is of far more importance command equal homage. Even when men loved rarity most, they loved beauty also; and this latter feeling has stood unhurt that intellectual advance before which the passion for anomalies is slowly crumbling away. That rarity in itself has ceased to attract will not prevent rare objects from being highly attractive by virtue of other and nobler qualities which they possess. If universality can lend dignity to what is plain, beauty certainly can do as much for what is unusual. An artist, therefore, cannot settle the capabilities of any new

matter by asking merely how common it is; the claims of beauty, of grandeur of intellectual and moral excellence, must be recognized in the final judgment which establishes its worth. The commonplace does not enter into modern life as a sovereign, but as one of a group of influences whose combined voice must govern the artist's selection of materials.

But even after this very large admission the perplexities of the inquirer are not over. We are to paint the commonplace. But the commonplace or, in other words, that which is always recurring, is unluckily the thing with which men are most familiar. Does our new principle, then, condemn us to the thankless task of telling the world what it already knows? It is evident that no theory could endure the strain of supporting such an inference as this. An author who tells people what they already know is like the donor who presents them with what they already own; he not only fails to please, but he insults. To interpret the theory in this way, however, is altogether to misunderstand it. The fitness of the term commonplace to describe the new idea lies, not in the fact that it teaches familiar truths, but that it teaches new truths about familiar subjects. The world's relation to these commonplace scenes to the study of which it is now returning is much like that of a man to a book which he has once casually read and to which he is afterwards recalled by an unexpected revival of interest. He wishes to find out, not the obvious truths which he already knows, but the delicate points which escaped his former careless perusal. Every book on science which treats of common objects like rocks or animals presupposes in its readers a certain degree of knowledge on these points, and confines its teaching to those truths which elude common observation. Every work of fiction which aims to impart truth about common scenes or incidents must recognize and avoid that large tract of information on these points which is already covered by the teaching of ordinary experience. If any man imagines that the new doctrine supersedes genius, that it opens the door of literary success to every one who carries a note-book and pencil, he misunderstands both the theory and human nature. To say that it is as difficult to find novelty and interest beneath the surface, as beyond the con-

finer, of the commonplace is to say very little. It is much easier to tell a man something about Arabia which will interest him than to tell him something about his own village which will have the same effect. Every adventurer in this new field of fiction is exposed to the constant peril of becoming trite and wearisome. Even Tolstoi's genius did not exempt him from this danger. In the throng of facts which poured in upon that eagerly receptive nature, he often failed to discriminate between those which were the common property of the race and those which were peculiar to his own rare insight. The result has cost his readers many weary hours.

Our theory has been considerably narrowed by reservations ; but, while admitting the rights of beauty and all its kindred qualities, while acknowledging that the modern novelist no less than his forerunners must respect the reluctance of men to hear stale truths, we still believe that this tendency toward the commonplace involves one of those great and noble principles which both measure and stimulate the progress of the age. We also believe that the real usefulness of the theory can be insured only through a broad and generous interpretation of its precepts. Its judicious application will alter, we think, rather the spirit of treatment than the subjects treated. For example, we do not believe that the most sincere disciple of the commonplace can afford to forego the study and representation of rare events. His very devotion to general traits will often demand the investigation of particular anomalies. If we wished to know the features of a man, we could ascertain them by observing him at ordinary times and places, provided that he kept his face uncovered, but the case would be very different if he habitually wore a mask. We should then have to wait for some abnormal or extraordinary circumstance, something that would break through his regular habits, in order to discover even the most ordinary aspect of his face. The normal course of events conceals from us much of what is most important and most universal both in outward nature and in the intellectual activities of men ; if we wish to understand these things, we must wait for some accident or abnormal situation to reveal them to us. The material world offers endless illustrations. To break and to upset things necessarily deranges

the regular arrangements of life ; and yet we cannot break, we cannot overturn an object, without by that action disclosing parts of its structure which were previously hidden, and which were probably quite as essential and as normal as its more obvious features. What these simple acts do for us in daily life, accidents, events, crises do for the hidden things in the characters of men and nations. The impulse which leads us to quicken our steps toward any scene of excited talk or action is not wholly a vulgar craving for the unusual ; it is in part a desire to gain that understanding of the real nature of our fellows which is denied to the observer of the purely every-day aspects of life.

The student of science recognizes this principle. Nature's little irregularities which seem to be in revolt against established usage, her outbreaks which subvert all normal relations, are, as it were, her moments of inadvertence or agitation in which she lets slip the great secret which in her calmer moods she jealously guards from view. A trivial anomaly is often the first obscure glimpse which the scientist has of some mighty law governing the succession of diverse and wide-reaching phenomena. The historian of nations, likewise, will often find their inner life most clearly disclosed in those catastrophies by which the routine of custom is for the moment entirely subverted. The so-called Insurrection of Women in the early days of the French Revolution was one of the most abnormal events in history, and yet every narrator of those terrible scenes will be constrained by his very love of general and universal truths to give them a minute and vivid portrayal. These facts are valuable, not for what they are, but for what they disclose, not because they tell us certain extraordinary things which some thousands of Frenchmen did on one dreary October day in their history, but because they allow us to see those thoughts and feelings which for long periods of time had made part of the daily life of the whole French people. The novelist is subject to the same conditions as the historian. He wishes to read men's characters in their doings ; but in ordinary circumstances men's actions express little, consisting generally of a mere mechanical obedience to habit or custom. It is only in those crises which do away with all precedent that man

pours enough of himself into his actions to endow them with true significance. The inquirer into human nature must accept the rare as the interpreter of the commonplace. The rare events in which universal truth reveals to us its latent and profound aspects are of no less value to the lover of general laws than the daily routine in which it shows its obvious and superficial features.

But we can go even farther than this. An author who fills his pages with marvels need not destroy their value as teachers of every-day truth. If a man whose main object was to instruct, desired at the same time to thrill and startle, we see no reason why he could not gratify both the delicate tastes of his cultured readers and the sensational appetites of his meaner ones. Whenever Tolstoi, or Mr. Howells, or Mr. Henry James portrays some every-day occurrence, as for example, a trial, we confess that, if the scene is really enough like other trials to deserve the name of commonplace, we never derive much pleasure or instruction from the incidents which make up the framework of the narrative. The reason is clear. The general outline or course of events on such occasions is as obvious to the rudest as to the most highly developed minds, and, on these points, therefore, high intelligence has nothing to teach. The charm of its work lies in the shrewd observations, the subtle interpretation of tone and expression, the bits of profound analysis, in those points, in short, which, evading the common observer, appeal only to rare and trained insight. But there seems to be no reason why work of this kind whose excellence consists in slight and delicate touches should be in any degree dependent on the quality of the main incidents. It is hard to see why these bright observations could not be as easily inserted in a startling as in an ordinary trial, or why in their new situation they should lose either truth or force. We must not imagine that, when we call a thing extraordinary, we imply in that term a complete severance from the ordinary forms. Every event has manifold aspects. When in a few of these aspects or even in one it differs strikingly from the usual type, we call it extraordinary; while, at the same time, in its other features, which are often more numerous and more important than the eccentric ones, it may be, and usually is,

normal. If a cat, for instance, were to possess a tail of twice the usual length, we should be justified in calling it extraordinary; but in every other feature it might coincide exactly with the usual form, and, with proper allowance for the anomalous tail, we might study the structure of the species as well in this as in any other individual. The same thing applies to events. The most extraordinary scene that ever took place has so much in common with every other scene of its kind that its careful and exact portrayal would involve a representation of much that was universally true.

Our new principle is not then very strict in enjoining us to treat common things; let us now see how it affects the treatment of common people. The novels have always been full of remarkable men and women. The story-tellers, by filling their books with persons who by their eminence were raised above common humanity, or by their oddities stood apart from it, have given to fictitious characters the air of a select circle into which nothing undistinguished might venture to intrude. Are we, having found out a new law which reverses all this, to break up this noble assembly, and to fill the place which it leaves vacant with the commonplace frequenters of the highways and hedges? We have in one sense already answered this question, so far as eminence is concerned, in asserting the inherent right to examination and portrayal which resides in intellectual and moral excellence, but not stopping to defend this position, which is abundantly strong enough to guard itself, let us see if we cannot find in the commonplace a sanction for the practice of painting prodigies. In literature, as in politics, the great man has lost his pre-eminence as an individual. But in both politics and literature a compensating tendency has restored to him as representative the influence which he has lost as chief. Here, as before, history offers apt illustrations. Martin Luther was, beyond doubt, an extraordinary man, yet no historian of his times can omit a detailed record of his life, not because this man was a little abler or bolder than the people to whom he nodded in his daily walks, but because, taken broadly, the thoughts and acts of countless Germans, otherwise forgotten, are recorded for us in this man's acts and thoughts. It is the likeness in purpose and feeling far more than the

difference in courage and abilities between Luther and his countrymen that gives him historic value. An instance from *Daniel Deronda* will show how the law works in fiction. If England were to be canvassed in order to find out how many Grandcourts there were in it, the result would no doubt be an extremely small showing; but yet, if the prevailing idea that his character is typical be correct, the man who has read and understood George Eliot's novel knows something more, not of one person merely but of the English people. The demands of the commonplace are satisfied, while the character itself is rare.

But eminence in character is not purely negative in its influence; it may strongly aid the unfolding of general truths. The conspicuous commands attention. A tall man is always noticed in a crowd. The interest and regard which have to be laboriously drawn out toward the commonplace flow spontaneously toward the unusual. This becomes manifest, when authors depict qualities or intellectual processes, both of which exhibit themselves most clearly in their developed, and therefore their extreme, forms; yet extremes are, by their nature, rarities. Shylock is certainly no ordinary man, but every one will admit that he illustrates the passion of avarice far better than one of those individuals whom their neighbors call "just a little close." The common man is a compromise between opposing tendencies, and, therefore, fitted to illustrate none.

The quality of oddity stands on much lower ground than that of eminence. It has no worth apart from its singularity. But, in spite of the fact that the feeling to which it appeals is a rather low curiosity, we cannot help thinking that it may be highly useful if enlisted in the service of better things. It is a curious fact that almost all the odd characters which have made for themselves a real home in men's hearts, from Sancho Panza down to Captain Cuttle, have done so not so much through the oddity itself as through the piquant force with which it has brought out a strong innate goodness of heart. The moral worth and the outward eccentricities have promoted each other's success. It is as certain that the goodness would have lost half its pungency, if enclosed in a less quaintly fashioned shell, as that the oddity would have lost half its worth,

had it enveloped a less wholesome kernel. What a little singularity has here done for goodness, it may do for common facts. The odd may be of inestimable use to the lover of the commonplace as a means of getting truth out of those conventional forms under which it is always hiding its real significance. The delicious piquancy which a slight accent will often impart to common speech and the relish which all men have for dialect-characters are very obvious instances of its effects. It is not necessary that the change be complete; a variation in one part will renew our interest in the whole. The most familiar objects, if placed in new surroundings, often borrow the originality of their setting and affect us like unfamiliar things. There is no need to dwell on the value of a force that can do this. The student of universal truths may look with disdain on the craving which men have for the singular and the anomalous, but he cannot deny that a force which can put freshness and novelty into familiar objects is nowhere so useful as in his own special task of teaching men to study common things.

The reason why men can learn universal truths from the contemplation of the eminent or the peculiar depends on the oneness of human nature. A great man is only the expansion of a common one; an odd man is only one whose substantial unity with his fellows is broken in a few unimportant points. If we can study anatomical structure as well in the arm of a Hercules as in that of a common laborer, there seems to be no reason why we cannot study intellectual and moral activities in their loftiest as well as in their commonest manifestations. The practice of authors certainly affirms this truth. George Eliot would doubtless have liked nothing better than to be regarded as the champion of common men and women, but the impulse to paint prodigies of virtue or intellect or ability was too strong for her, and in her later works she receded entirely from those early professions to which she was scarcely true even in the books of which they formed part. Mr. Howells, too, who would like to have us think that he paints common people, has an adroit way of skimming off the cream of humanity for his readers and serving it up with the graceful pretense of its being mere ordinary milk. Even Count Tolstoi would rather have his heroine a pretty girl than otherwise. In

fact the practice is so universal that it is rather hard to find an exception.

Our observations have led us, accordingly, to think that there is real excellence in this new principle which we have termed the commonplace, that its present development is the passage into fiction of tendencies which in other lines have wrought out some of the noblest achievements of modern progress. We admit its right to complete ascendancy, but at the same time we do not believe that this right necessarily involves any sacrifice of those qualities by which fiction has hitherto won its successes. We believe, on the contrary, that these allurements are never so valuable as at a time when the assumption by the novel of a more and more serious and philosophical attitude is continually demanding a higher and therefore a sterner intellectual effort from its readers. We cannot afford, when the way is becoming a little rocky, to throw away the staff which helped us over its easy stages. The aim of the new writers is to induce men to look at life and character in that close and careful way which produces knowledge. But every one knows that men can look much longer without fatigue at an object which possesses charm or novelty than at one which is simply commonplace. That arrangement of life by which the rare is only the common modified in a few points is most happily fitted to satisfy the artist's double need of the commonplace and the novel. He is thus enabled to paint objects which are rare in some of their aspects in such a way that, while employing their universal qualities to make them valuable, he employs at the same time their exceptional ones to make them interesting. We have been greatly strengthened in these conclusions by the fact that they coincide with the practice of the great modern writers. A noble reciprocity of benefit, which exalts the frivolous, while it adorns the serious, parts of the work, has taught the modern novelist how to uplift his readers by the universality of his truth, while he wins them by the rarity of its setting.

OSCAR W. FIRKINS.

ARTICLE IV.—A PIONEER OF GERMAN ART :
ASMUS JAKOB CARSTENS.

ASMUS JAKOB CARSTENS, the unremembered subject of this sketch, was born in 1754, in the same decade that first saw Goethe, Mozart, and Schiller, as though the generation which was to grow up with the great masters of letters, music, and song were loth to do without a leader in the sister art of design. Although his surroundings and influences were to be eminently German during his life, Carstens' birthplace and family were Danish, the former being at his father's mill of St. Jürgen near Schleswig, while the latter was of a long Scandinavian descent. The prospects and position of the household, when Asmus was nine years old, were seriously altered by the miller's death, and beyond the authority of a remarkable mother, whose spirit and capacity kept the family together, the boy was thrown at this early age almost entirely upon himself for guidance and instruction. He must have been endowed with some instinct for culture to have preferred the fight for a schooling to an easy decline into mere bread-gaining ; but this we may not unjustly attribute to the mother, who was an extraordinary instance of the *femme savante* for her time, being conversant not alone with Greek and Latin and the politer modern tongues, but able also to sketch an embroidery design or color her own drawings of the Fates or Graces with a cleverness that showed some proficiency in as well as predilection for the fine arts. Her son accordingly attended classes, though his private inclination leaned not at all, it must be confessed, toward the dull round of dead languages taught there ; St. Jürgen being so near Schleswig as to allow the boy to trudge of a morning to the town school and return by night, his early days were pretty free from the direct interference of the learned old mother. And here first we catch a charming glimpse of the child's awakening to a love for art,—when he stole into the cathedral to munch his noonday crust and his eye found a humble little altar-piece by one Jürgen Ovens, an obscure pupil of Rembrandt's, which

inspired the common-place urchin's soul with a spirit of grace that quickened and directed his entire life towards the highest aims. Again and again he visited the darkened chapel to contemplate this picture, and once, he tells us, falling on his knees he 'prayed that Almighty God would some day grant him power and skill to produce such a beautiful painting as the one hung in this holy place.' The impress was not a light one upon the young mind, and from this experience dates the beginning of a life devoted to art and art alone, in the face of every obstacle that came between him and his goal. It may be noted in passing as rather a curious fact that though stirred to such remarkable enthusiasm by this example of the Dutch school, his own compositions never revealed the least likeness to the great Rembrandt's manner.

Carstens now came to regard his school-books with increasing repugnance, preferring to dream of fine pictures and such graceful fancies as his fond imagination could create. The mother did not, perhaps, altogether despise this trace of inheritance from herself, and may have even given him some helpful hints on drawing when she discovered him with childish energy practising on his slate. He certainly from this time forward put all his spare moments to use in this direction, and passed the remainder of his boyhood intent solely upon this one delight. At the age of sixteen he left school 'knowing nothing,' as those exclaimed who were baffled in the trial of bringing his education into conformity with the acquirements of others, and he himself confesses in a letter written many years later that his indifference to subjects he did not fancy was so complete as to earn him the title and reputation of dunce in all branches but one. In drawing, by dint of hard practice (though without a teacher) he was fairly proficient. Already he had been taken up by an unknown painter of Schleswig and informed upon a few of the technical details in his art, but he left him with no great loss when the family moved to Cassel, and there all but sank the talent that was in him in the unfortunate and contaminating influence of one Tischbein, a painter big with local pride and fame, an apostle of the miserable and degraded thing called art in those benighted days.

A few words may be ventured here on the debasement and sterility of what men flattered with the name of art in the 18th century when Carstens arose as a prophet to lead his people across this dead sea of unworthiness and pretense. The dreary taste which in architecture, trusting wholly to profuse ornamentation for effect, had produced such palaces as those of Versailles, Fontainebleau, and the Dresden Zwinger; which in sculpture had evolved the inanities that simpered from the niches and parapets of public buildings; which in painting strove to depict life as one long mid-summer festival for polite shepherds and shepherdesses, and which from its peruked dandies that covered every canvas, had been dubbed the "pig-tail," or "top-knot style,"—such ideals reigned supreme in all forms of art. It was the last throb of the Renaissance, when, caprice and fashion ruled in foolish elegance, and exuberance everywhere took the place of order. No other age could have created those Baroque and Rococo buildings which are found to-day in uninhabitable grandeur in certain provincial towns of Germany. These were styles which even in their perfection (as perhaps in Dresden) exhibit tendencies dangerous in the extreme, but when affected by people whose knowledge of art was due not to instinctive love of form but only to the cultivation of their betters, their influence was pernicious beyond all estimate. The century was frankly one of trivial things and of little excellencies, a period that delighted most in fantastic decorations on porcelain, in the monsters and gewgaws brought from the re-discovered East, and drew its inspiration largely from the grotesque. It is necessary to keep trace of these popular predilections in order to appreciate properly the cause and development of certain modes throughout the broad field of culture which appear in our age totally unreasonable.

From a professional upholder of such artistic folly as the century preferred for its expression, Carstens took his first serious lessons in the use of oil colors. We cannot but imagine that the self-centered youth must have felt some moments of uneasiness under the restraint of such mannerisms as his teacher recommended, but whatever the trial may have been it did not endure long, for the resolute and cultured old mother died soon after their removal to Cassel, and the little family's

affairs were put in charge of guardians, plain plodding men of business with no weakness or indulgence for the useless calling of painting; they decided directly that Asmus must leave the breadless pursuit of art and follow some useful trade. Whether this change in his fortunes was an unlucky one for the 'unprofitable lad' it is not altogether easy to say. Perhaps it was in the end better that he should escape at any cost from the toils of such a wooden-handed master as Tischbein, yet the alternative was a very slavery within the gates of the Philistines, a seven-years apprenticeship to a wine-merchant of Eckernförde, where he must put aside all thoughts of pallet and brush. Five years of his slavery wore away, his days passed in the wine cellar, his evenings and few precious holidays devoted to his pencil and to a treatise or two on art that ventilated the arid theories of Raphael Mengs and his contemporaries. At length, falling in with a friendly lawyer, who explained that an arrangement might be made with the wine-seller to release him at once, the angry boy jumped up from the bed where a passing fever had for some days confined him, to buy his freedom with all possible speed and hasten to Copenhagen, there to devote his whole strength to his vocation. The consciousness of having by dint of his own promptness and energy broken the fetters that had, through no fault of his own, impeded the natural development of his genius, must have quickened and encouraged a will as independent and determined as his.

Copenhagen afforded Carstens his first glimpse of a collection of works of art. "There I first saw," he exclaims in one of his written reminiscences, "the loftiest and best in art, of which I had heard and read and dreamed so much, by which I had so often warmed my imagination, but about which I could as yet form no adequate conception—and how unspeakably it surpassed the fondest expectation in which my fancy had basked! What works of art I had till this time seen seemed the productions of mere men, and I had even thought that some day I too might come to make the like of them; but the forms before me now savored of a higher essence fashioned by some superhuman artists, and it no more entered my head that I or any other mortal would ever achieve the distinction of

creating such shapes as these. Here for the first time I saw the Vatican Apollo, the Laocoon, the Farnese Hercules, and the rest, and there came upon me suddenly a holy impulse as of worship that almost moved me to tears; it was as though that higher life for which I had so often prayed with bursting heart were now really vouchsafed me, that now at length I had been accounted worthy and my prayer was heard. I could neither imagine nor wish for a greater blessedness than always to live in the contemplation of these glorious figures; and this happiness was now really within my grasp!" It is this spirit of devotion, after all, that wins the fight of life—this abandoning one's self to a single aim into which no corruption of the outer world enters—that if we but possessed it in sufficient degree might make heroes or geniuses of every one of us.

The Carstens of two and twenty is much the same as the Carstens of nine who falls in adoration before his ideal and grimly determines to struggle onward toward its realization. In other qualities besides, the boy had shown himself to be the father of the man. Again he breaks off from intercourse with his fellows to pursue his lonely and eccentric way, and again leaves the text-books and traditions of his school—this time an art school—to train his talent by himself. He was very backward in the rudiments and technical specialties of his profession, and his taciturn nature rather repelled advances from those willing to assist the strange student. Shame, pride and ambition united to deter him from allying himself with the Academy in Copenhagen; there was 'something foreign, yes, inconceivable', he said, in the school method of studying piecemeal the branch of human anatomy, and drawing from the living model. Accordingly he cut loose from the Academy masters to draw and study in seclusion, going to the only source of inspiration he would accept, the antique casts in the museum; and here after hours of silent contemplation he would in his curious way retire to reproduce the statues on paper entirely from recollection. His eye and artistic memory for form must have been something little short of marvelous, a purely mental quality in its way quite as extraordinary as the not dissimilar power of verbal readiness exhibited by Macaulay, Woodfall, and some other notables. It was a favorite and ineradicable

conviction of Carstens, and one on which he was never tired of enlarging, that it was not the mechanical reproduction of a model before one's face but the retention of its image in the mind which constituted the real and only profitable study of form. Nothing could exceed, it is said, the delicacy and grace as well as the accuracy of his copies from the antique, the subtle quality of which he strove to wrest from these clay impressions in oft-repeated trials and renewed studies. Each sketch was in its way a *tour de force*, but when completed he would listen neither to commendation nor advice concerning them. And here we have essentially the very inbeing of Carstens—sensitive, proud, willful, original, and grandly imaginative; the Carstens who owing to this peculiar *crasis* spoiled the material comfort of a lifetime, but who in spite of all advanced to the inevitable mastership which comes from the veneration of undimmed ideals. It is indeed possible that the poverty and distrust which continually impeded the fulfillment of his ardent purpose may have afforded the necessary stimulus upon which his stubborn nature could batten; for there are those who seem to succeed only by obstructions, and Carstens was not one to avoid those found in his way. On the contrary, in spite almost of fate, self-educated, without friends, in perpetual strife with the powerful and acknowledged authorities in art, this untamed and disdainful genius evolved his own theory of classical adaptation and climbed up his own path to fame.

As an instance of his mediocre acquirements at this period, when he was rather a draughtsman with noble purposes than a painter with deft hand, it is related that he chanced to attract the notice of a certain Count Moltke, who professed himself so much pleased with the truth and beauty of an "Adam and Eve" as to order the sketch done in oils, but upon its completion the painting was curtly rejected by the wealthy noble on account of its unskillful execution. It happened at this time that owing to some fine designs the artist found favor in the sight of the Danish Crown-prince Friedrich, President of the Academy, and was summoned to visit him. This resulted shortly afterwards in Carstens' becoming an active member of the institution, where he remained during the better part of a year and entered into competition for the gold medal. But

when the prize by some gross favoritism or unfairness was given to another, and the second or silver medal handed to Carstens, he threw the worthless bauble into the faces of his judges and refused again to go near the Academy. The outraged Directors did, it is true, dismiss him from their establishment, but at the end of another year a peace was in some way patched up and he was invited to try once more for the prize and its six years' salary for study in Rome. The temptation must have been a severe one, for his little inheritance from his mother was now quite exhausted and he had come to a point where a visit to Italy was indispensable to his studies, but the offended painter spurned the hand held out to him and worked henceforth alone and unaided in his poverty.

As mere pot-boilers he was in the habit of making portraits in red chalk, in which medium he had acquired a skill sufficient to please a good number of patrons who were willing to pay for them. He detested the uncongenial work—and it would be difficult to imagine a disposition less adapted to portrait painting than Carstens;—but the dream of a journey to Italy, the home of art, had fastened upon him and inspired him with a double energy. Without a particle of rest, “often jumping up in the night and working away at my easel until half frozen I was forced to warm myself in bed again by morning”—he tells us,—by prodigies of hard and disagreeable labor, he found himself toward the spring of 1783 possessed of a few hundred thalers and ready to set off toward the South. Seven years of Copenhagen had done little for him but afford the casts from which to extract what proficiency in handling his pencil he could; in worldly estate he was as poor in his thirtieth year as when he first performed his great act of renunciation before his idol of art.

This journey to Italy proved to be almost the saddest fiasco of his sad life. He went not only ill-equipped with money, but woefully ignorant of his best interest, and blundered at the very threshold by listening to an Italian count who proved a feckless friend in advising him to remain in Milan instead of going on to Rome. Carstens had made his way across Germany with a younger brother and entered Italy at Verona, going thence to Mantua. In this city he found the great frescoes of

Giulio Romano, the chief of Raphael's scholars, and with his accustomed enthusiasm over anything that pleased his severe taste abandoned himself unreservedly to their contemplation. "I seemed now at last to behold true paintings—he exclaims,—something great, filled with fiery phantasy and clever invention, something at once earnest and vigorous in style." These are indeed frescoes which no one who visits the Palazzo del Té can pass without a deep sense of their beauty and boldness, but with Raphael himself within reach Carstens had no reason to loiter with the scholar. The poor brothers remained in the North Italian towns without finding any lucrative employment, and presently their money gave out. A letter to General von Stein, then at Milan, was given the artist, but his reception by the old statesman appears to have been discouraging and was the death blow to any further hopes of his remaining in Italy.

On his return to the north Carstens was presented to Lavater, in Zurich, then busy with his famous "History of Physiognomy," who willingly employed the artist in making drawings of the heads used in the preparation of his work. This experience and the abrupt introduction into the practice of that detested "anatomy by piece-meal" which he had flouted in Copenhagen were not without value to him, but the engagement presently came to an end and the artist trudged on to Lübeck, where his brother belonged, and where to earn his livelihood he was forced again to set himself to the 'odious task' of portrait painting. It was here that he began to acquaint himself through translations with Homer and the Greek tragedians, with the Latin poets, and Shakespere, and Ossian, filling his mind with the grandest conceptions of legend and literature. Here, moreover, he who had till now been poor and unfortunate in his friends, formed an intimacy with Fernow, who shared his high ideals and became afterwards his close companion and eventually his biographer. The possession of one trusted friend induced others, and before Fernow's departure from Lübeck, in the year 1787, Carstens was surrounded by a small but inspiring coterie of sympathetic friends who encouraged his work by their appreciation and succeeded in spite of himself in forcing his hitherto unbroken reserve. One of these induced him to send his

composition of "the Four Elements" to Berlin for exhibition, and when upon its favorable reception there he succeeded in getting the painter some prospect of work, he exacted a promise that he would make himself known to those who might readily assist him, and so helped him on his way to that flourishing capital. Carstens had again been seriously ill with a fever—for his habits of life and his poverty were already beginning to tell upon his constitution—and was by this time (1788) heartily disgusted with an existence which must be miserably sustained by taking crayon likenesses; any change, therefore, was an agreeable one, and he followed his picture to Berlin with satisfaction.

It must be confessed that for a man of thirty-four who had devoted the best days of his youth to painting as a profession Carstens had at this turning-point of his career extremely little to show either in manual dexterity or in artistic performance for all these years of self-abnegation. His hand was not yet brought into perfect accord with his ideas; his drawings were justly criticised for faults of detail; his education, especially in those important particulars of perspective and anatomy, was sadly backward. Yet he had something all his own which rose superior to technical defects, a grand spirit that lived with the gods, that was trained in superlative flights of imagination and that sought expression in the purest forms and the highest manner of classical art. If his drawings were few and sometimes faulty they were nevertheless keyed to the loftiest themes, and in thought and composition were a return to the delicacy and dignity of antiquity; what fell short of his fine conception could be laid at the door of his cramping poverty, from which a cruel sensitiveness and latterly increasing illness made it excessively difficult to free himself.

The emancipation did not immediately follow his arrival in Berlin. He had hoped upon reaching this centre of intelligence to receive recognition and encouragement, but the promise he had given his Lübeck friends of making himself known by some new picture and of pushing into the art circles does not appear to have been kept, for he soon drifted into a lodging in the remote purlieus of the city and shut himself off from any likely chance of acquaintance. He passed a year of

wretchedness and pinching want, sustaining himself by giving drawing lessons—for he had resolved never to return to the detested portrait-painting—and once during an attack of illness having to subsist for weeks literally on prison fare of bread and water. At length, in these depths of poverty, while golden dreams of Italy were all that was left him to stay a hungry stomach, the exhibition of a large cartoon, the “Fall of the Angels,” attracted the favorable notice of the art critics, and thus he became known. Carstens was soon discovered and made a teacher in the Academy, and such was the sensation created by his last design that it would have been easy for another in his place to have won almost any favor; but here as in Copenhagen his indomitable pride and susceptible temperament baffled the attempts of his friends to assist or patronize him. Many of the academicians were honest and hearty admirers of his work and disposed unselfishly enough to further his interests, but no sooner was he installed in his new position than Carstens as usual became contumacious, insisting upon perfect freedom in the performance of his duties, ignoring the suggestions of masters, directors, and brother artists, and acknowledging only the authority of the Cultur-Minister von Heinitz by whose prerogative he had secured his situation. Trouble followed, naturally, among the other instructors, and the two years in the Berlin Academy, though not without good results in broadening and perfecting his style, were marred by heart-burnings and more than one unseemly wrangle.

The hope and ambition of a return to Italy had not lessened during these years. This was the goal towards which Carstens directed his life's race, the incentive of all his present labor. His desire was at last unexpectedly achieved when some of his work came before the eye of the king, earning him at once the encomiums of royalty and, through Heinitz's influence, a two-years' pension or scholarship for the further development of his talent in Rome. In Rome at last, already 38 years old, feeble in health and handicapped by his imperfect mastery of the mechanics of his craft; his happiness might have seemed to have reached him too late. But above and beyond these material drawbacks was his irresistible vigor of inspiration, now nearing the maturity of its powers, which was perfecting

in him a really matchless classical style and bringing back to art a purity of form and loftiness of ideal that till now had been unknown in modern times.

We cannot afford in this lengthening notice more than a moment's consideration of the condition and character of art in Rome at this period. It is hard to realize in our own days of free thought and enlightened practice how narrow were the ideas which hemmed in the disciples of culture a hundred years ago, and how closely limited to definite localities were the new opinions and improvements which arose among them. A way was broken for the regeneration of art in the middle of the 17th century, when the critic and historian Winckelmann (in the words of Lübke) "directed the attention of the world to the true understanding of the masterpieces of classical antiquity and revealed the long disused fountain from which art was once more to draw health and youthful vigor." But though Winckelmann had now been dead more than a score of years, and his works had found their way throughout the civilized world, it was impossible to obtain the true tradition of his teaching in any art schools away from the spot where his activity had centered, the resting-place of antique fragments in Rome.* In the eternal city the leaven of the new art was working; young men from all countries were assembled; schools and clubs vied in pushing towards new goals; criticism was free and fair and bound by no code that could claim the sanction of a royal authority. While northern Europe groaned under the iron discipline of the Hohenzollerns and France was entering into the despair of the Revolution, the sunlight of culture still shone upon Italy, and Rome for many years remained the home of the arts. It is improbable that the civilized world will ever again be found under quite the same

* At this distance we do not easily appreciate the fact that in its way Winckelmann's "History of Ancient Art" is one of the most notable productions of the human mind. It marks the birth of scientific art-criticism founded on a true study of history and archæology. Both the ancients and the brilliant group of the cinquecentists could point to single artists and their glorious lives, but neither period produced a systematic conception of art as in itself an independent and organized life. It remained for a modern to raise the principles of art to the dignity of a science. Winckelmann's "History" is the groundwork of every subsequent treatise on the subject.

conditions as during the waning of the 17th century, but not enduring these evils ourselves we may never, on the other hand, taste the ecstasy of joy with which thirsty souls came from central Europe to Italy to satisfy their intellectual craving for the earnest, the pure, and the beautiful, or measure their longings toward that Mecca of their confession.

If the poor little altar-piece in Schleswig, the museum in Copenhagen, the Giulio Romanos in Mantua, had severally impressed the sensitive spirit of Carstens in his younger days, it may be guessed with what astounding fervor he now applied himself to work and study in this paradise of all his hopes. The celebrated frescoes of the Vatican and its treasures of ancient statues were naturally the objects above others which claimed his closest study, and it is not long now before the influence of Michael Angelo appears paramount in his drawings. Such influences marked rather a development than a change, for Carstens' was a nature that could only grow in one way, and the step from a Giulio Romano to a Michael Angelo indicates the direction and degree of this evolution. After completing a number of drawings he makes use of the following remarkable expressions in a letter to the Minister von Heinitz—and it is worth while to note the calm self-reliance with which genius ever contemplates itself: "My work (he writes) is producing a sensation. People gape and wonder and do not know how I could have brought the great style with me from Germany to Rome, or how I ever picked it up there. It is a veritable reward for all my application when it reaches my ears that my work is compared only with Giulio Romano, Corregio, or Michael Angelo; it is a sign that I am on the way the great masters traveled. Perhaps I have already said too much in my own praise; but can self-esteem make me a better painter than I am? The future, that stern and incorruptible judge, will weigh my merits against my short-comings, and this terrible tribunal is ever before my eyes." Winckelmann's rather paradoxical dictum—"The only way in which we can become really great and (possibly) inimitable is in imitating the ancients"—found a true believer in Carstens, whose work first showed to moderns what was meant by drawing inspiration from the deep wisdom of antiquity. In him

could be seen a new art arising from the spirit of all true and high art, but its very absence of ostentation the world could not yet comprehend; and though it did not altogether blame him the world is never indulgent to what it does not understand.

But all were not halcyon days for Carstens even in Rome. Again and again he succumbs to illness, which now begins seriously to threaten a constitution already weakened by poverty and neglect. His pension did not suffice to sustain him in idleness, and even this, though graciously extended by the king for a third year, came to an end after a series of painful misunderstandings, recriminations, and final rupture with his patrons in Germany. It was a quarrel (in the like of which Carstens was fated to involve all his days) where some right remained on both sides. The painter had been sent to Rome by the practical and economical Prussian court not for the cultivation of his private whims and theories but to make of himself a better decorator for the king's palace. With Carstens the understanding of his mission was whole worlds removed from any such idea. He was sent into Italy by Frederick William just as he was sent into the world by God—to develop and perfect his genius. “I belong (he proudly writes to Heinitz) not to the Berlin Academy, but to mankind. My talents I owe to God alone; I must therefore be a conscientious steward, so that when it is commanded ‘Give an account of thy stewardship,’ I need not say ‘Lord, I have buried the talent which thou gavest me in Berlin!’” And contemptuously enough he ignores all the hints, directions, commands of an incensed monarch in order that he may obey the divine behest of his art. His action of course raised a tumult in the art circles at home and added to his unpopularity among many influential persons there. For Carstens though making rapid progress in his work after reaching Rome, and surpassing even expectation in the easy grace, the correctness and the vigor of his compositions, had latterly advanced the theory, long since held by David and the French school, that the laws of bas-relief should be applied as well to the sister art of painting, and thereby aroused a fierce hatred of such heresy in the camp of the Prussians. The court, amazed and dis-

pleased at his temerity and dereliction while in its employ, demanded his return, and Carstens, who considered this order despotic and unjustifiable, refused to go. In his state of health it would have been almost suicidal to have ventured again to the north, but to this contingency no reference is made in the correspondence. He is the self-same man, throughout whose life a lordly pride and consciousness of absolute rectitude thwarted all friendly efforts in behalf of his worldly welfare.

A reason, or at least excuse, for Carstens' demeanor towards his patrons may not unlikely be discovered in the prodigious sensation created at this time in Rome by the exhibition of a new series of drawings, and his almost immediate recognition by critics there as an artist of the first order. The excited throngs that gathered before these cartoons were incredibly moved at this unexpected unveiling of a genius that few among them had ever heard of. It is not unjustly claimed that from this exhibition of April, 1795, may be dated the beginning of modern German Art. Foreigners in the city joined with one accord in praising his work, and if the enthusiasm of French and German artists did not quite equal that of the others it was owing to national bias or a sense of academic canons outraged which confounded their judgment. But all united in recognizing the ability of the painter, while his countrymen began to be eager after this pronounced success to get him back again to Germany. So at last Carstens awoke to find himself a hero. His pictures were sent to Berlin and became at once the object of common attention. Their merits and failings were energetically discussed and opposing parties fought in every drawing-room the battle of his beliefs. Yet success could no more alter his resolution, once taken to remain in Rome, than poverty and dependence. Displeased with his continued stubbornness the Berlin Academy not only had his pension stopped but in order to indemnify themselves for what they considered an unprofitable investment advertised an auction sale of the cartoons sent them for exhibition. This must, however, have been meant more as a threat than a bona fide sale on their part, for we discover soon afterwards, in the unhappy correspondence which arose over this matter, that the directors stood ready to send his drawings back to him if Carstens would pay for the

freight and packing! Such was the pursuit of art in Prussia a hundred years ago, when the state was poor and practical.

The drawings came back to him from Berlin, "and now for the first time in my life (the artist writes) I am really and truly happy—and free!" A strange note indeed from a broken-down, penniless painter who had been cast off by his only probable employers. He worked on, however, with none the less enthusiasm, experimenting among other things with some sketches in the newly-discovered medium of aquarell, producing a brilliant succession of his most important works. The end came all too soon in the midst of this happy activity. Death did not indeed call unexpectedly, for his health had declined steadily during the past few years and consumption—an inheritance from his mother—had so weakened him of late that much of his work was done while he was on his bed. Great as his suffering was it is astonishing that it should have left no impress upon the character of his compositions. But Carstens who had proved himself above all the discomforts of life preserved the same indifference and equanimity in the presence of death. With brush and pallet he worked hour by hour at his "Golden Age," the most successful of his oil-paintings and one in which he appears to have finally overcome his failings in the matter of technique, and produced a *chef-d'oeuvre* delicate in shading and color and vigorous in design. Thus working and chatting with a few friends until the picture was done he sank back upon his pillows, and on the 25th May, 1798, this erratic spirit passed away to its goal.

Without a knowledge of Carstens' life his works are but imperfectly understood and their historical importance is indefinable. His great mission was the preaching of a spirit of purity in art which centuries had lost sight of. The lesson of his life, if ever a life taught a lesson, went to prove that even under distressing conditions a man can by unwearying perseverance and unswerving fidelity to lofty aims attain to achievements of revolutionary importance. His was a heroism which had to contend not only against every wordly obstacle but against his own unfortunate temperament, which was his worst enemy, and yet his success if measured by the results of his example and influence was as complete and far-reaching in its

way as the triumphs of any of the world's great reformers. Unlike many artists he never allowed himself to become the creature of a fitful inspiration, but persisted in carrying to its end the work he had in hand, or performing the duty which seemed most immediate. He held himself aloof from schools, not always indeed to his advantage but seemingly impelled by some instinct which told him that even to err on the side of ignorance was better than to fall into the error of their ways. He would accept no authority from living teachers nor consent to the smallest compromise with the doctrines of the prevailing taste, which seemed to him to be rotten from the core. And with these characteristics must be noticed the steadiness that marked his development; there was no relapse, no wandering into bye and forbidden paths where fancy lured or some transient advantage tempted; his rise if gradual, was constant, when mounting from the slough of a fearless poverty he ascended to the pinnacle of fame. The whole of his earlier life, his melancholy struggles in Cassel, Copenhagen, Lübeck, and Berlin, up to his arrival at Rome, may be considered simply as a preparation for the short term of half a dozen years wherein his noblest works were put forth in the full maturity of his genius; and these works, though they exhibit no peculiar mastery of the painter's craft, nor always, indeed, what is most perfect in method or finish, do in the subtlest and surest manner indicate the true artist-soul alive with the finest instinct for beauty, for grace, for consummate chastity of form. It was not in training the hand but in elevating the soul that Carstens recognized the essential for any art worthy of the name; and following out in practice the note of this sublime idea he left such monuments as show that one can be a great genius in art even when one is far from possessing a complete control over all its complex methods and mediums. His life, in other words, was the answer to the famous query which Lessing puts into the mouth of one of his characters when he demands "If Raphael had been born without hands would he have still been a great artist?" All superficial judgments and passing prejudices aside, the important but too often neglected truth remains that what is best in art comes not from the hand but from the head; and this it was which Carstens brought clearly,

by the exhibition of his works, to the comprehension of his contemporaries. The lesson when learned taught the Germans the way to their modern art.

Carstens left no school properly so called. His life was short and obscure, his friends were few, his methods unfit for common practice. What he had, his spirit, his insight, his original and extraordinary retentiveness of memory, his masterly conceptions based on far-reaching ethical principles—these were qualities of which only the illustrious tradition could be transmitted. As a restorer of German art to some degree of simplicity he was first hailed by Goethe and Schiller in the pages of the “Horen.” But even when years had intervened since his unhappy quarrel with the *Curatorium* of the Berlin Academy, the efforts of these “poet-princes” in his behalf could not soften the smart which his stubbornness had left in the feelings of the Prussian authorities, nor obliterate the odium of his discords with rulers, ministers, and patrons. He died before he could make his mark in the picture galleries of Europe by paintings hung upon their walls, therefore his name is forgotten; but his influence remains.

FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLUB.

Mar. 5th, 1889. Kant's Ethical Theory in Relation to His other Thought. Mr. Arthur Fairbanks.

Mar. 19. Bostidm's Philosophy. Mr. Fritz Jacobson.

April 1st. A Study on Ethical Method. Mr. H. S. Gale.

April 16. Science and Immortality. Prof. A. Jay DuBois.

THE SEMITIC CLUB.

March 6th, a paper was read by Mr. Charles H. Wissner on the second Assyrian period. The paper gave a condensed history of the reigns of Tiglath Pileser II, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ašurbanipal. Special attention was given to the decline of the Empire under Ašurbanipal, and its fall under his successor.

March 20th, Synopses of recent articles on Semitic subjects were read by different members of the club.

April 3d, Mr. Frank K. Sanders read a paper on the Second Period of Babylonian Supremacy. The paper touched upon the sources of the history, the sudden rise of the Empire under Nebuchadnezzar, his wars and public works, his character and place in history, emphasizing his relations with Judea and Egypt. The weakening of the real strength of the Empire under his successors and its fall under the royal antiquarian Nabonidus, when Cyrus at last became able to reach the gates of Babylon.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 84.—WEEK ENDING APRIL 6, 1889.

Sunday, March 31.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. William R. Richards, of Plainfield, N. J. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by the Rev. Mr. Richards.

Monday, April 1.—*Philosophical Club*—A Study in Ethical Method, by Mr. Harlow Gale. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M. *University Reception*—Dwight Hall, 8-11 P. M.

Tuesday, April 2.—*The Antiquity of Man* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—Professor Verrill. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, April 3.—*Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M. *Semitic Club*—Historical Paper by Mr. F. K. Sanders, on the Babylonian Period. 135 College st., 7 P. M. *University Chamber Concert*—Beethoven Quartette. North Sheffield Hall, 8.15 P. M.

Friday, April 5.—*History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Lecture Preparatory to Communion Service*—Dwight Hall, 7.30 P. M. *The Laborer and his Employer* (Lecture in the Sheffield Scientific School Course)—President Francis A. Walker, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. North Sheffield Hall, 8 P. M.

University Chamber Concerts—The Sixth and Final Concert of the Series will be given by the Beethoven Quartette on Wednesday evening, April 8, with the following programme: 1. Mozart.—Quartette, C major (17, Peters). 2. Beethoven.—From Serenade Op. 8, for Violin, Viola and Cello. 3. Schubert.—Op. posth., D minor.

No 85.—WEEK ENDING APRIL 13, 1889.

Sunday, April 7.—*Public Worship, followed by Communion Service*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. President Dwight. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Addresses by Students.

Tuesday, April 9.—*The Brain* (University Lecture)—Professor Williston. Room 11, Medical College, 4 P. M. *Mathematical Club*—Mr. E. H. Moore, concerning Six, especially six points in a space of four dimensions. Sloane Laboratory, 7.30 P. M. *Classical and Philological Society*—Professor Goodell, on Recent Excavations at Mycenae. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, April 10.—*Metaphysics* (University Lecture)—Professor Ladd. 194 Old Chapel, 4 P. M. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Thursday, April 11.—*College Junior Exhibition*—Battell Chapel, 3 P. M.

Friday, April 12.—*History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 4 P. M. *The Brain*

(University Lecture)—Professor Williston. Room 11, Medical College, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper by Mr. D. E. Leary, on Factory Legislation. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M.

Junior Exhibition—Yale College.—The Junior Exhibition will be held in the Battell Chapel on Thursday, April 11, at 3 P. M. The following is the order of speakers, with their subjects: 1. Roger S. Baldwin, on Cardinal Lavigerie. 2. Yale Kneeland, on Henry Ward Beecher in England in 1863. 3. John Crosby, on John Wilmot, 2d Earl of Rochester. 4. John D. Jackson, on Voltaire's Influence on Liberalism in France. 5. Lewis S. Haslam, on Julian the Apostate. 6. George A. Hurd, on the Provençal Element in Daudet. 7. Walter A. DeCamp, on Walt Whitman. 8. Wolcott W. Ellsworth, on some Conceptions of Job's Author.

The Henry James TenEyck Prizes, the income of a fund of twenty-six hundred dollars, established in 1888 by the Kingsley Trust Association in memory of Henry James TenEyck (Yale College, 1879), will be awarded by the Faculty to the successful competitors.

NO. 86.—TWO WEEKS ENDING APRIL 27, 1889.

Sunday, April 14.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Professor Harris. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by Professor Harris.

Tuesday, April 16.—*The Brain* (University Lecture)—Professor Williston. Room 11, Medical College, 4 P. M. *Philosophical Club*—Paper by Professor DuBois, on Science and Immortality. Room D, East Divinity Hall, 8 P. M.

Wednesday, April 17.—*Spring Recess* (College and Sheffield Scientific School) begins, 9.30 A. M. *Sophomore Compositions* due at 9.30 A. M. at No. 153 Farnam Hall. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Wednesday, April 24.—*Spring Recess* (College and Scientific School) ends.

Friday, April 26.—*History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 4 P. M. *The Brain* (University Lecture)—Professor Williston. Room 11, Medical College, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M.

Junior Compositions—Yale College.—The last Junior Compositions for the year will be due at No. 2 Treasury Building on June 1. The following subjects are prescribed. Any persons wishing to write on other subjects must obtain permission to do so before May 10. 1. Should the diplomatic service of the United States be changed with each administration? 2. Étienne Dolet (as a representative of Renaissance Humanism). 3. Effects of the present system of representation in the Lower House of the Connecticut Legislature. 4. Hogarth as a teacher of morals. 5. The relation of Christian missionaries to civilization. 6. Yale in the Civil War. 7. Shakspeare's personality, as expressed in his Sonnets. 8. Studies of Elizabethan middle-class life in the plays of Dekker and Mid-

dleton. 9. A sketch of the old conflicts between students and the New Haven populace. 19. The influence of the Sunday newspaper. 11. Parnell's Irish leadership, as affected by the events of the last year. 12. Is it desirable that Yale's intercollegiate athletics should be restricted to a league with Harvard?

Spring Recess.—During the Recess (April 17–24), the University Library will be open during the morning hours only, from 9.30 to 1; the Linonian and Brothers Library from 10 to 12 on Wednesday and Saturday. The Treasury will be open from 10 to 1.

NO. 87.—WEEK ENDING MAY 4, 1888.

Sunday, April 28.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. William M. Taylor, D.D., of New York City. *General Religious Meeting*—Dwight Hall, 6.30 P. M. Address by the Rev. Dr. Taylor.

Wednesday, May 1.—*Last Day* for handing in John A. Porter Prize Essays, 105 Grove st. *History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 5 P. M.

Thursday, May 2.—*College Faculty Meeting*, 7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M.

Friday, May 3.—*History of Old Testament Prophecy* (University Lecture)—Professor Harper. Room B, Cabinet, 4 P. M. *The Brain* (University Lecture)—Professor Williston. Room 11, Medical College, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *Lecture Preparatory to Communion Service*. Dwight Hall, 7.30 P. M. *Political Science Club*—Paper by Mr. K. Matsugata, on the Constitution of Japan. 195 Old Chapel, 7.30 P. M.

Berkeley Scholarship—Yale College.—The annual examination for the Berkeley Scholarship, yielding about \$55.00 a year to a resident graduate for the three years after graduation, will take place on Monday, May 6. Any members of the senior class who propose to enter the examination must present their names to Mr. Dexter on or before Thursday, May 2.

Graduate Fellowships and Scholarships.—Members of the Senior Class in College, or recent graduates in Arts, who wish to be considered as candidates for any Graduate Fellowships or Scholarships which may fall vacant at Commencement, 1889, are requested to communicate with Mr. Dexter before May 15.

Commencement Pieces—Yale College.—Commencement pieces should be handed to Professor Beers on or before Monday, May 27. All members of the Senior Class with a Dissertation appointment, or upwards, are entitled to compete. Special-honor theses, if suitable in subject and form, may be used for Commencement. The pieces should not exceed twelve minutes in speaking. ~~33~~ The date for handing in Theses for Special Honors is postponed to June 1.

Bristed Scholarship—Yale College.—An examination for this Scholarship, which yields over one hundred dollars a year and is tenable until the end of the third year after graduation, will be held on Monday, May 6. Juniors or Sophomores who desire to compete are requested to report their names to Mr. Dexter, at the Library, on or before Thursday, May 2.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

WHITTIER'S PROSE WORKS,* here collected and published in three handsome duodecimo volumes, have unmistakably the same flavor which has made his verses to be so prized. There is in both the same devotion to Right and Duty, the same sincerity, the same simplicity and clearness of expression. No reader can fail to recognize the author's moral earnestness, whatever may be the subject on which, or whatever the form of language in which, he expresses his views.

But we are inclined to think that what will give lasting value to these "prose works" is that which Mr. Whittier has contributed to the illustration of our early New England history, and especially to the illustration of the spirit which animated our fathers. We cannot but think, also, that in his own life the poet has shown, to a generation that is inclined to criticise unsparingly what it calls the austerity of the Puritans, that one who has ever set before himself ideals as high as any of theirs, and has denounced evil in every guise with a spirit no less uncompromising than theirs, has yet been able in his daily life to manifest a kindliness and a geniality of manner which have called out the love of all. We quote what Mr. Whittier says about the Puritan spirit.

"Our age is tolerant of creed and dogma, broader in its sympathies, more keenly sensitive to temporal need, and, practically recognizing the brotherhood of the race, wherever a cry of suffering is heard its response is quick and generous. . . . All the more, however, for this amiable tenderness do we need the counterpoise of a strong sense of justice. With our sympathy for the wrong-doer we need the old Puritan and Quaker hatred of wrong-doing; with our just tolerance of men and opinions a righteous abhorrence of sin. All the more for the sweet humanities and Christian liberalism which, in drawing men nearer to each other, are increasing the sum of social influences for good

* *Whittier's Prose Works*. 3 vols. 12mo. pp. 436, 437, 402. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1889.

or evil, we need the bracing atmosphere, healthful, if austere, of the old moralities. . . . The true life of a nation is in its personal morality, and no excellence of constitution and laws can avail much if the people lack purity and integrity. Culture, art, refinement, care for our own comfort and that of others, are all well, but truth, honor, reverence, and fidelity to duty are indispensable."

"The Pilgrims were right in affirming the paramount authority of the law of God. If they erred in seeking that authoritative law, and passed over the Sermon on the Mount for the stern Hebraisms of Moses; if they hesitated in view of the largeness of Christian liberty; if they seemed unwilling to accept the sweetness and light of the good tidings, let us not forget that it was the mistakes of men who feared more than they dared to hope, whose estimate of the exceeding awfulness of sin caused them to dwell upon God's vengeance rather than his compassion; and whose dread of evil was so great that, in shutting their hearts against it, they sometimes shut out the good. It is well for us if we have learned to listen to the sweet persuasion of the Beatitudes, but there are crises in all lives which require also the emphatic "Thou shalt not" of the Decalogue which the founders wrote on the gate posts of the commonwealth."

"Let us then be thankful for the assurances which the last few years have afforded us that

'The Pilgrim spirit is not dead,
But walks in noon's broad light.'"

Now Whittier has himself certainly shown us how "hatred of wrong-doing" and "righteous abhorrence of sin," and denunciations of all oppression as stern as any of the "stern Hebraisms of Moses," may consist with the most lovely exhibition of all the sweet humanities in daily life. And if so, we may ask were not these things as compatible with each other in the seventeenth century as in the nineteenth?

W. L. KINGSLEY.

VAN DYKE'S "SERIOUS ART IN AMERICA."*—Those who are interested in the progress which Art is making in the United States will be pleased to know of a paper which Mr. John C. Van Dyke read before the "Rembrandt Club" of Brooklyn, last

* *The Increase in the Appreciation of Serious Art in America*. A paper read before the Rembrandt Club, Feb. 4th, 1889. By JOHN C. VAN DYKE. 4to, pp. 32.

February. The subject was "the increase in the appreciation of Serious Art in America." As proof of the marked advance which has been made within a few years, he cites the Report of the commissioners who were sent by the United States in 1887 to the Paris Exposition, in which those gentlemen rhapsodize over the work of Gérôme and Meissonier—"two of the cleverest and yet emptiest artists in all Europe"—speak slightly of Corot, Troyon, and Fromentin, and pass over Rousseau, Daubigny, and Diaz, in absolute silence. He then quotes, by way of contrast, what the commissioners to the second Paris Exposition reported. The last is the exact opposite of the first. But we have no space for the presentation of any full analysis of this interesting paper. We will simply quote what Mr. Van Dyke says, by way of definition and illustration, about "Serious Art."

"It is the picture which speaks the thought and belief of the artist that we distinguish as serious; and it is the picture which shows us merely the surface appearance of things that we call clever."

"The art of Millet, for instance, is serious, because he put his heart in it, with an honesty of belief and steadfastness of purpose that defied poverty, misery, and neglect; because he was possessed of the keen sight of genius and saw beauty in the heavy figure of the peasant, and poetry in his humility of spirit; because he told what he saw in life with the simplicity of a child, with the tender-heartedness of a woman, with the strength of a self-reliant man. Consider that master-piece, 'The Sower.' You may have been in France and seen the peasant, but I doubt if you ever saw 'The Sower.' That is the man that MILLET saw—a man of heroic mould, strong of arm, sure of foot, humble of spirit, true to God. Consider in that noble striding figure, and under that slouched hat, how much there is of the heart and soul of Millet, peasant, poet, and painter, and how little there is of that empty external appearance which we see in so many of his imitators.

The art of Meissonier, on the contrary, is simply clever, because he never had a heart and never possessed a soul; or, at least, never showed either the one or the other in his art. His pictures are familiar to us all, and we are attracted to them by their precision of touch, their nicety of finish, their vividness of realization. But what do they realize? A guardsman, a reader, a bravo, a horseman. What do these characters say to us? Do they tell us any deep truth of life, do they suggest an emotion of any kind, do they whisper the faintest zephyr of pictorial poetry? Most assuredly not. One says: 'See now nicely my face is painted!' Another says: 'Look at the charming texture of my clothes!' Another cries; 'Glance at the sheen of my spurs, and note the play of light on my horse's coat!' And what does Meissonier say? What does Meissonier feel? Where is Meissonier? Certainly, not in the picture. We see the tracery of his very clever fingers, but the man

is absent. Cold, calm, glittering, splendid, his work has its admirable parts in line, texture, color, light, but it never made a heart beat quicker; it never caused a tear to flow; it never struck a responsive chord in the hearts of men."

LANDON'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.*—Judge Landon, of New York, who recently served for several years as President *ad interim* of Union College, has published in this volume fourteen lectures, delivered during that time to the Senior classes. They give a clear and plain account of the rise and growth of the United States, as a government, and treat with special fullness the influence of the judiciary in its development. The author is no hero-worshiper. Heroes, he thinks, are out of place in a constitutional republic. "If we had a Gladstone or a Bismarck at the head of our government, we should be no better off than we are with President Cleveland, or Harrison, or any other fair man of good intelligence. . . . And so, it may well be that it is even better to have as rulers honest men of moderate ability." What heroes he acknowledges in our history belong to the Federalist school of former generations. "General Jackson," he says, "held about the same relative rank among the statesmen of the age, that the dime novel of our time holds in literature—strong enough to capture an active and untutored imagination." A concluding chapter is given to the discussion of some of the views of Mr. Bryce, in his recent work, especially those in reference to the inferiority of our public men to those occupying similar stations in other countries.

The best part of the book is in its statement and explanation of many of our leading judicial decisions. Among others, he calls attention to that rendered in New York some years ago, as to the title to the bed and waters of the Mohawk river. The legislature authorized the diversion of part of the stream into a canal, and the riparian proprietors demanded compensation. The rule of the Roman law, which gives it in such a case, was followed, and followed largely because New York was first ruled by the Dutch, and Holland based her jurisprudence on the civil law. The decision is aptly quoted to illustrate the dependence of law on history.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

* *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States.* A series of Lectures, by JUDSON S. LANDON, LL.D. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.

ON THE SENSES, INSTINCTS, AND INTELLIGENCE OF ANIMALS.*

—This interesting work is, as its author states in the Preface, a collection of notes made, as it were, by the way, rather than a complete and independent treatise. It is not for that reason, however, devoid of attractiveness or value; though the technical nature of the greater part of it will probably prevent it from becoming as popular as others of Sir John Lubbock's works. The first one hundred and seventy-five pages are somewhat minutely descriptive of the anatomy of the organs of sense. Rather singularly, the author jumps the great gap between man and the lowest of the animals in his comparative presentation of the subject. This gives a fragmentary character to the treatment. But the jump over the great gap in the structure of the physical organisms is scarcely as significant as the jump which has to be made in the psychological inference. Of "senses" (the author even speaks of "perceptions") "and intelligence," as belonging to the insect, as those words describe human psychical activities,—states of consciousness,—we know little or nothing whatever. That the movement and the development of these animals are conditioned upon and directed by the activity of organs of sense more or less analogous to those of man, there can be no doubt; but this does not necessarily (or even probably) imply tasting, seeing, or hearing, much less understanding, and reasoning, in any meaning which our conscious experience can give to these words.

In the later chapters of the book the author recites some of the result of his experiment with insects, especially with ants and bees, and defends his conclusions against certain modifications and strictures brought to bear, by other experts, against them. This is the part which will most interest the average reader.

In general we are again reminded of the extreme difficulty, not to say absolute impossibility, of drawing any safe conclusions in comparative psychology touching animals, both structurally and functionally, so unlike man are the insects. Moreover we note that as to the bare facts of habitual or occasional action, on which all attempts at such a psychology must be based, there is still a very wide divergence of findings among the acknowledged experts.

* *On the Senses, Instincts, and Intelligence of Animals, with Special references to Insects.* By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

A TREATISE OF HUMAN NATURE.*—In spite of Hume's attempt to withdraw these earlier volumes from the public, and his insisting that his philosophical views should be judged only by such selections from them as he himself chose, with modifications, to preserve, it is probably true that they constitute the best exposition of their author's system of thought. They certainly contain the germs of all that he taught of "Understanding," of "the Passions," and of "Morals." Moreover, they have the freshness, clearness, and decision, which belonged to the *young* philosopher,—"dreaming the dream of his philosophy," while not yet thirty years of age, in solitude, in La Flèche in France. Hume's thought will never cease to gain and hold consideration, and to evoke warm espousal or rejection.

We are exceedingly glad to welcome this new edition of the "Treatise of Human Nature. It is attractive in form, moderate in price, admirably edited. Its value is enhanced by an extended analytical index (covering more than fifty pages), which Mr. Selby-Bigge has prepared with great care. Students of Hume who cannot afford the four volumed edition of Green and Grosse should by all means possess themselves of this work.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLECT.†—We have already commended the first part of Professor Preyer's treatise on the Mind of the Child, especially to all teachers and parents. This second part of the same general treatise is more strictly technical and less popular than its predecessor. But it contains an abundance of interesting and instructive material. The first principal thesis which the book maintains is admitted by its author to be of all the facts which he has established touching the early life of the child, "most opposed to the traditional doctrines." This thesis is that of "*the formation of concepts without language*." By "language" Preyer here understands all sign-making support of ideation whatever; but by "concepts" he seems to understand only those collective ideas, or "recepts," as Mr. Romanes would call them, which are to be distinguished from concepts, more strictly so called.

* *A Treatise of Human Nature*. By DAVID HUME. Reprinted, from the Original edition in three volumes, and edited, with an analytical index, by L. A. SELBY-BIGGE, M.A. New York, Macmillan & Co.

† *The Mind of the Child*. Part II. *The Development of the Intellect*. Observations concerning the Mental Development of the Human Being in the First Years of Life. By W. PREYER. Translated from the original German by H. W. BROWN. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1889.

Several chapters of the work treat in a very interesting way of the development of the child's intellect as connected with its learning the use of language. Expert students will find very suggestive the parallelism which Preyer draws between the various defects and inaccuracies of the child's speech and those which originate in connection with the different forms of aphasia. Only the aphasic patient has lost some one or more of the several cerebral and psychical processes which enter into full and complete speech, whereas the child has not yet gained them.

The chapter on the "Development of the Feeling of Self" in the mind of the child is interesting, but seems to be scarcely so full and satisfactory as we have reason to expect from the treatment of other subjects, even less important. Two of the three Appendices give cases of the psychical development of acephalic or microcephalic children, and reports of the experiments to determine the first perceptions of those early blind persons whose eyes have been successfully couched.

On the whole, the publishers of this "International Education Series" have done no better service through any of the series than through these two volumes of Professor Preyer on the mind of the child.

MEMORY.*—This book cannot be considered one of the most valuable in the series to which it belongs. It is indeed exceedingly painstaking. It abounds in citations from a great variety of works,—there being, according to Dr. Harris in his "Editor's Preface," "more than one thousand well chosen citations from nearly two hundred authors." A considerable portion of the book is taken up with detailed descriptions of the nervous system; but most of this is not particularly pertinent to the main subject of the book; nor is the physiological treatment of memory done in the modern method. Strangely enough, not one of the "nearly two hundred authors" cited is a recognized authority in this branch of the subject.

The style of the work is, at least in places, very awkward, as the following instance may show. "But while every one must thus of necessity possess some degree of memory, there are few or none that possess it in that degree that they might and should do."

* *Memory, What it is and How to Improve it.* By DAVID KAY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ETHICS.*—This handsome volume is the product of the studies of the author in connection with his preparation for the class-room during many years. It gives abundant evidence of his fidelity in reading and thought. His standpoint is in general that of Reid and the Scotch philosophers, the most of whose distinctive positions he adopts and defends with unflinching pertinacity. The work also gives evidence of a pretty wide range of reading, and is enriched with copious and pertinent extracts and references. The practical applications and suggestions are in good taste and in a good spirit, and at the same time fresh and suggestive. The proportions of the several divisions of the treatise are well adjusted, and a good deal of matter—including valuable historical statements and criticisms—is packed in a very attractive volume. It will meet the wishes of many instructors as a principal or supplementary text book, and will interest the general reader. We commend the work most cordially to the many who are interested in this important department of philosophical research and practical application.

THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE.†—Attention has already been called in this *Review* to the plan of this series of popular, yet scholarly, expositions. The two volumes which have thus far appeared in 1889, Dr. Plummer on the Pastoral Epistles and Mr. Smith on Isaiah (Chs. I.—XXXIX), are creditable representatives of the series. Each contains an introduction in which the critical and historical questions connected with the books to be explained, are briefly set before the reader. Dr. Plummer defends the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. Mr. Smith holds, we infer, the view current among critics that Chaps. XL—XLVI. are not the work of the prophet Isaiah, but belong to the period of the Captivity. The author has based his exposition upon a careful study of the original text and an examination of the sources which have been opened in recent years for the better historical understanding of Old Testament literature. We heartily commend the volumes of this series to pastors who have not leisure for the study of more elaborate critical treatises, both as aids to interpretation and as a help to expository preaching.

* *The Beginnings of Ethics.* By Rev. CARROLL CUTLER, D.D., formerly President of Western Reserve College. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1889.

† *The Pastoral Epistles.* By Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D. *Isaiah, Chs. I.—XXXIX.* By Rev. GEO. A. SMITH, M.A. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York, 1889.

PURVES' LECTURES ON JUSTIN MARTYR* were delivered on the L. P. Stone foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1888. They constitute an argument, drawn from a comprehensive survey of Justin's life and writings, for the historical character of the New Testament literature and for the acceptance by the early church of the evangelical system of doctrine. The work is characterized by candor and learning, and makes an interesting and instructive chapter in early church history as well a useful contribution to apologetics. It is provided with a full index and is presented in an attractive form by the publishers.

FINDLAY'S EXPOSITION OF GALATIANS.†—We have in Professor Findlay's exposition of Galatians the latest number of the series of popular commentaries to which we have already directed attention. We have examined the volumes of this series as they appeared with peculiar interest because they are prepared in pursuance of an end most desirable, but by no means easy to attain, viz: the presentation of the result of scholarly and critical Biblical study in a form adapted to popular use. We regard the efforts of the various authors thus far as highly successful and none more so than Professor Findlay. His expositions combine, in excellent proportion, trustworthy and critical exegesis with popular and striking presentation. His work shows on every page that he has mastered the Epistle, but knows how to hold in reserve the processes by which he mastered it for himself, and give the reader the well considered results in an attractive and practically suggestive form. This book seems to us to closely approach the ideal of popular exposition. Not a chapter if it is too abstruse or technical to be delivered as a sermon. It would make an epoch in preaching, and in Bible-study if the ministry of to-day would vigorously take up expository preaching in the spirit and upon the methods of such volumes as this. The work would, indeed, be laborious. Much careful study would be called for before sermon preparation could begin, but great gains would be made by work of this kind in acquaintance with the Bible and in strong grasp upon evangelical truth. The tendencies of our time

* *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity.* By GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D., Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg, Pa. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. New York. pp. 302.

† *The Expositor's Bible.* The Epistle to the Galatians. By Rev. Prof. G. G. FINDLAY, Headingley College, Leeds. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York, 1889. pp. 461.

are towards such an effort. The Bible is to be studied with better intelligence, more thoroughness and keener interest in the near future than it has ever been. We regard this series of expositions as both a sign of the times and as a useful stimulus and almost a model to aid the work of opening the deeper meaning of the Bible to the people in ways that will not discourage and dismay them, but attract and interest them.

GEORGE B. STEVENS.

DURBIN'S LIFE.*—The subject of this memoir was one of the most gifted preachers of the Methodist church of this country. The preparation of the memoir was evidently a work of love and is well worthy of the man whom it honors. We do not look for severe critical judgment, for excessive caution or reserve or for measured terms of praise. The author is an enthusiastic admirer and he pours forth his laudation without stint. Estimated by the severest literary standard it may be pronounced extravagant. The literary quality of the work is defective and at times distasteful. But we do not fail to catch much of the author's enthusiasm for the subject of his eulogy and we are constrained to rejoice and to be grateful that such preachers as Dr. Durbin are possible in an age like this and that the noble church that has done so much for this country is still able to produce them. One of the interesting and valuable features of the volume is its discussion of homiletical principles in the light of their concrete manifestation in the subject of this memoir. It in fact succeeds in becoming a valuable contribution to homiletical literature. It is to be cordially commended to students of homiletics as containing some of the most helpful and fruitful suggestions about preaching to be found. They are the more valuable that they interpret and generalize the concrete facts of Dr. Durbin's preaching.

LEWIS O. BRASTOW.

THROUGH DEATH TO LIFE.†—There is always a chance for new contributions to the work of interpreting and enforcing the teach-

* *The Life of John Price Durbin, D.D., LL.D.*; with an Analysis of his Homiletic Skill and Sacred Oratory. By JOHN A. ROCHE, M.D., D.D.; with an Introduction by RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1889.

† *Through Death to Life*. Discourse on St. Paul's great Resurrection Chapter. By REUVEN THOMAS, D.D., Harvard Church, Brookline, author of "Divine Sovereignty," "Grafenburg People," etc. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Company, 50 Bromfield street. London: James Clarke & Company, 13 Fleet street. 1888.

ings of the Apostle Paul. There is especially a chance for new applications of those teachings from the pulpit. Paul is a teacher of Christianity whom the church will not outgrow, and each age with its special intellectual and spiritual difficulties needs him to set it aright. The testimony of Paul with respect to the resurrection of Christ and with respect to the significance of that fact is of priceless value. It is new and fresh for every age of the church. Dr. Thomas has entered a field that has been thoroughly worked. The great minds of the church have preceded him. There is but little new work to be done upon the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians. But Dr. Thomas is a preacher of no inconsiderable merit, and he brings to us in the volume before us an exposition and application of Paul's teaching of the crowning fact of historic Christianity that are worthy of our attention. We have here ten sermons of an expository sort. They bear the marks of thorough study. They are suggestive and practical and helpful in an eminent degree. Their ethical and spiritual tone are appropriate to the grand and solemn themes discussed. In literary form they are interesting and impressive. We have here the old truths of the Christian centuries, but they are wrought into a form sufficiently distinctive to sanction their publication.

LEWIS O. BRASTOW.

THE ART AMATEUR completes its tenth year with the May number. It is almost impossible to overestimate the good influence this able magazine has had in popularizing art in this country. The current issue, which is a fair sample of the general quality of *The Art Amateur*, is filled with all kinds of artistic designs, mostly full working size, and practical articles on Oil, Water-Color, Tapestry and China Painting, besides others on Wood Carving and Church and Home Embroidery. The strong point of the magazine is its very practical tone. One of the colored plates, which accompany each number, is a superb study of "Tulips," by Victor Dagon; and for china painters, besides other designs in black and white (with directions for treatment for all), there is a charming Fern Decoration in green and gold for a tea service. The well illustrated articles for the benefit of young artists who wish to become illustrators for the magazines are continued, and the Home Decoration and the Amateur Photography departments are well kept up. The National Academy

of Design, the Paris Salon, and other important picture exhibitions are critically noticed. Price 35 cents. MONTAGUE MARKS, Publisher, 23 Union Square, New York.

The frontispiece of the *MAGAZINE OF ART* for May is a photogravure reproduction of G. P. Jacomb-Hood's "The Triumph of Spring," which was one of the principal attractions at the summer exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888. Mr. Jacomb-Hood is one of the most promising of young English painters, and he has done nothing better than this graceful composition. N. V. Diaz is the subject of the paper on "The Barbizon School." We are given a portrait of the famous painter and several engravings after his works. Ford Madox Brown follows with a paper on self-painted pictures, which gives a portrait of the writer painted by himself. It is capital as a painting and as a likeness. Frederick Wedmore has an interesting paper on "Our Elder Art at the Grosvenor Gallery," giving some fine reproductions from Sir Joshua Reynolds, Romney, and Gainsborough. The papers on Art in the Theatre are continued, by Mr. William Telbin, one of the best known scene painters in London. There are no more interesting illustrations in the magazine than those from the self-made portraits of Sir Fred'k Leighton, Josef Israels, John S. Sargent, Luke Fildes, and Jules Breton; all of which hang in the famous Kepplestone Gallery. From these modern painters, we are taken to "Ancient Art in Ceylon," and a batch of very modern art notes. CASSELL & COMPANY, New York. 35 cents a number, \$3.50 a year, in advance.

Summer Schools ^{NINTH} ^{YEAR}

Announcements
for the Summer
of **1889**

OF THE
AMERICAN
INSTITUTE OF **Hebrew**

* * * * *

I. SCHOOLS.*—DATES.—PLACES.

1. NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL, May 21-June 11.....Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
2. PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL, June 12-July 8....Protest. Epis. Div. School, West Philadelphia, Pa.
3. FIRST CHAUTAUQUA SCHOOL, July 6-26Chautauqua, N. Y.
4. SECOND CHAUTAUQUA SCHOOL, July 26-Aug. 15.....Chautauqua, N. Y.
5. CHICAGO SCHOOL, Aug. 15-Sept. 4.....Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston (near Chicago), Ill.

II. COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

Remark 1. Each School will continue three weeks: this makes it possible to avoid overlapping; it also enables men who so desire to attend two or even more schools.

Remark 2. The Principal will be in attendance at each of the five schools, from the first hour to the last.

I. Hebrew Courses: These will be practically the same in all the schools.

1) *For Beginners*, (a) Mastery of Gen. I.-III., (b) gram. principles, (c) memorizing of words and critical analysis of text. *Three hours a day.*

2) *For Reviewers*, (a) Mastery of Gen. III.-VIII., (b) review of elementary principles and more advanced gram. work, (c) memorizing of words and sight-reading. *Three hours a day.*

3) *For Progressive Class*, (a) Critical translation of Judges or 1 Samuel, with study of accents, forms and constructions; (b) the fundamental principles of the language, especially the vowel-system; (c) sight-reading (with memorizing of words) in Exodus, Deuteronomy, Kings.

4) *For Advanced Class*, (a) Critical Study of (1) Isaiah XL.-LXVI. (at New England School), (2) the Book of Job (at Philadelphia), (3) Joel, Amos and Hosea (1st Chautauqua School), (4) Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi (2d Chautauqua School), (5) Isaiah XL.-LXVI. (at Chicago); (b) the study of syntax; (c) sight-reading in Jeremiah and selected Psalms.

II. Cognate Courses: (a) Assyrian for beginners; (b) Assyrian for advanced students; (c) Arabic for beginners; (d) Arabic for advanced students; (e) Aramaic; (f) Syriac; (g) Ethiopic; but no class in a cognate language will be organized in any School, unless four applications for such class be received by the Principal thirty days before the opening of the particular school for which application is made.

III. INSTRUCTORS.

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S. BURNHAM, D. D., Hamilton, N. Y.
GEO. S. BURROUGHS, PH. D., Amherst, Mass.
A. S. CARRIER, M. A., Chicago, Ill.
C. E. CRANDALL, M. A., New Haven, Conn.
EDWARD L. CURTIS, PH. D., Chicago, Ill.
GEO. S. GOODSPEED, M. A., New Haven, Conn.
RICHARD J. GORTHEIL, PH. D., New York City.
WM. R. HARPER, PH. D., New Haven, Conn.

CHAS. HORSWELL, Evanston, Ill.
MORRIS K. JASTROW, JR., Philadelphia, Pa.
JOHN G. LANSING, D. D., New Brunswick, N. J.
WALLACE W. LOVEJOY, Philadelphia, Pa.
D. A. MCLENNAN, D. D., Allegheny City, Pa.
FRANK K. SANDERS, M. A., New Haven, Conn.
BARNARD C. TAYLOR, M. A., Chester, Pa.
M. S. TERRY, D. D., Evanston, Ill.
REVERE F. WEIDNER, D. D., Rock Island, Ill.

IV. EXPENSES.

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V. IN GENERAL.

(1) Each school will begin at 9 A. M. of the day appointed; attendance upon the work of the first hour is essential.

(2) A detailed statement of the classes, instruction, expenses, etc., in each school will be published April 10, and may be obtained by addressing the Principal of Schools,

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* Final arrangements have not, in the case of every item, been made. There is, therefore, a possibility that some slight changes may be made from the details here announced.

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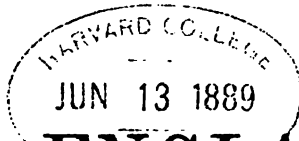
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NEW ENGLANDER

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NULLIUS ADDICTUS JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI.

JUNE, 1889.

- ART. I. A Modern Saint. *Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, Hartford, Conn.*
II. Bryce's "American Commonwealth." *Hon. D. H. Chamberlain, New York City.*
III. Professor John F. Weir on "The Nature and Means of Revelation." *Prof. Samuel Harris, Yale University.*
IV. In Memoriam: Rev. David Trumbull, D.D., of Valparaiso, Chili. *William L. Kingsley, New Haven, Conn.*

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

Classical and Philological Society of Yale College.

Yale University Bulletin.

Speech of Hon. Daniel H. Chamberlain at the Brooklyn Yale Alumni Dinner, May 2, 1882.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Buddhism, in its Connexion with Brāhmanism and Hinduism, and in its Contrast with Christianity. By Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.I.E.—Nature and Man. By William B. Carpenter.—The Physiology of the Soul. By J. H. Wythe.—A Brief History of Greek Philosophy. By B. C. Burt, M.A.—Deductive Logic. By St. George Stock, M.A.—Physiological Notes on Primary Education and the Study of Language. By Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D.—Christian Doctrine Harmonized and its Rationality Vindicated. By John S. Kedney, D.D., Professor in Seabury Divinity School.

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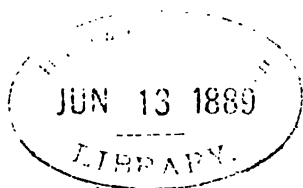
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NEW ENGLANDER

AND

YALE REVIEW.

No. CCXXXI.

JUNE, 1889.

ARTICLE I.—A MODERN SAINT.

Memorials of The Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer, M.A., late Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and Missionary to the Mohammedans of Southern Arabia. By the Rev. ROBERT SINKER, B.D., Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. London: George Bell & Son. 1888.

THE number of Christian biographies continually issuing from the press, of the class to which that whose title is above given belongs, is a notable literary feature of the modern time. There are a good many such; enough, and of a quality to make it a probable statement that Christianity is, in these latest generations, not only bringing forth, as hitherto, the noblest specimens of that universally acknowledged supreme type of humanity, the Man of Faith; but is producing an order of men as illustrative in their persons of the all-surpassing power and

glory of The Faith as *ever were*; peers in gospel grace of the worthies of any epoch of the gospel annals. Which vital phenomenon is a comment on the state and prospect of Christianity of the clearest significance.

But to proceed to the memoir before us. Its subject, which one is obliged to say is its principal merit, was the third son of the eighth Earl of Kintore. He was born in Edinburgh in 1856. His descent was illustrious through a long line; one of his ancestors having been Frederick the Great's famous Marshal Keith, and others of them men of renown in the history of Scotland. Of his parents, it must suffice to remark that they were worthy of their rank; intellectually and morally of a noble strain. The Earl, his father, was a man of earnest piety and active benevolence; a liberal patron of all enterprises of education and religion. The boy who was born to such station, was born also to wealth; a circumstance to be noted as not usual in the case of those who win the kind of honors he did. How rich he was we are not told; but all through his life he seems to have had plenty of money. He used a good deal of it in one way and another.

His education in its early stages was conducted after the accustomed manner in noble families. His nurse,—half nurse and half governess—in his childhood, was, judging by her contribution to the biography, a person of considerable culture. The tutor under whose hand he next passed was a member of the household, and in the discharge of his office accompanied the family on their occasional tours and seasons of residence abroad. At the age of thirteen he was sent to the Old Harrow School in England where he remained four years, till within a few months of his entering Cambridge University in 1874.

Physically he was a superb specimen of manhood. In his maturity he was six feet three inches in height, but of such symmetry of build that he did not seem so tall; sturdy, alert, very strong, full of animal life and spirit as he could hold, a really magnificent fellow, a strikingly impressive figure seen anywhere.

He was one of the foremost athletes of his time, at school and at the University. His exploits on the bicycle especially made him a public character, before he was well through his

boyhood. For some time he held the first place among the amateur bicyclists of Great Britain. He rode a great number of races, and won abundance of prizes; on one occasion, in a long close contest beating the national professional champion. He once rode from Land's End to John O'Groat's House—994 miles—within thirteen consecutive days, an average of over seventy-six miles a day, counting in nearly two days lost by weather. For ten successive years he was elected president of the London Bicycle Club; and all his life was in much request as judge in bicycle tournaments and in like capacities.

Fond, however, as he was of athletics, he did not at any time make it other than a strictly subordinate interest. In one of his letters he thus states the view on which he justified himself in that considerable degree of attention he devoted to it. "If (he says) we exercised and trained our bodies more than we do, there would be less illness, bad temper, nervousness, and self-indulgence; more vigor and simplicity of life. Of course, you can have too much of it; but the tendency, in most cases, is to indulge the body, and not exercise it enough; and athletic contests are an excellent means of inducing young people to deny themselves in this respect."

In addition to his physical advantages, nature also endowed Keith-Falconer with a generous temper and disposition to match; which were expressed in a genial smile, a brave, breezy, hearty voice, and most winning manners. He was a thoroughly companionable person. The spirit in him was sociable and sympathetic by his make. Though of gentle blood he had a native faculty for getting along side his neighbor whoever he might be. He made great friends, for instance, with that professional bicyclist whom he vanquished, who was a man not at all of his grade. These things in him it is interesting to note, in the light of his origin, but especially of other traits and qualities of his, yet to be remarked, in which his substance as a man consisted.

His intellectual gifts were the counterpart of his physical and social. He was not, indeed, a genius. His mind was not of the creative order. But it was in the highest degree acquisitive, sound, robust, tenacious, critical: a first-class mind for learning. And through his entire life he is to be seen ap-

plying it with all his might, with unremitting diligence, zest, and enthusiasm to some task worthy of its powers. He was ever one of the hardest working young men in Great Britain, this earl's son. The story of his achievements and successes in scholarship is quite too long to rehearse. At Harrow he rose to the head of the school; and at Cambridge his career was brilliant in the extreme. Many prizes as he took as a bicyclist, he took a good many more, in those same years, in academic competitions:—and in various branches; beginning, for example, at Harrow with prizes in both German and Mathematics. Yet in all his letters there is no sign that he was ever ambitious for honors on their own account; but much to suggest that in themselves he little cared for them. He was vastly interested in his work for its own sake. He was an "all-round" man; good at everything he tried; and in his accomplishments a sort of Admirable Crichton. To vent his eager and overflowing energy, he was wont to take up outside his regular tasks, now this and now that by-occupation or hobby; and whatever he did in that way he did thoroughly. For example, he became immensely interested in the new Tonic Sol-fa system of musical notation, and so mastered it that about the time he entered the University he was awarded two honorary certificates of proficiency by the principal academy in London where it is taught. He also, while yet a lad became remarkably skilled in phonography, and ultimately an expert on the subject,—a recognized expert. The article on Short hand in the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,—an exhaustive essay, historical and bibliographical,—is from his pen. The Rev. Mr. Hensley, in whose house he lived and with whom he studied mathematics in the interval between his leaving Harrow and his matriculation at Cambridge,—he was then seventeen,—says of him at that time, that "he would rise at seven to take lessons in the Tonic Sol-fa system, or at other times might be heard singing to himself as he lay in bed at the same early hour. In short, he was always doing something. If he had but a quarter of an hour before work time, he would be busy with his short hand, or would spring on his bicycle and dash round the town, and be home again at the appointed hour."

As to the direction of his studies, when in due time it had to be determined, he finally settled to the choice of the Oriental languages; Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and their cognates. There, he felt, lay his best aptitude; and there his taste led him. Already, before taking his degree, he had won examination honors in the first two, and remaining at the University after his graduation, he threw himself with characteristic ardor into work in that field. As an instance of his facility it is related that once having indispensable use for the contents of a book in Dutch, with which neither he nor any one at hand was acquainted, he procured a Dutch grammar and went to work at it and in three weeks could read the book. Before long he was marked by the learned society of the place, which was observant of him as a man of whom the greatest things might be expected. He was appointed by the University an examiner for the Hebrew scholarships, the honors of which he had himself lately carried off; and presently a lecturer (or instructor) in Hebrew. He taught, as he did everything else, with all his heart and with conspicuous success. "He took just as much pains," says one of his associates, "in teaching the stupidest man as the cleverest." He assumed a large amount of extra work in the private tutoring of his backward students, refusing, however, the ordinary fee for such service,—except in one case; and then he sent the money as a contribution to a hospital, half in his own name and half in the name of the student from whom he received it. Of course, being pecuniarily independent, he could afford this; but it shows his spirit. He was generosity itself.

Later still he was offered and accepted the distinguished and ancient chair of "Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge," an appointment which was a good deal of the nature of a decoration since the duty involved was confined to the delivery of one or two annual lectures. In the year 1885, at the age of twenty-nine, he published, as what may be called the first-fruits of his scholarship his volume, "*Kalilah and Dimnah*," otherwise known as the "*Fables of Bidpai*," a translation from the Syriac, with an elaborate introduction and copious critical notes, of one of the great Indian classics, a part of the original Buddhist literature and

one of the oldest books of the world, descending through a chain of languages before it reached the Syriac. Which piece of work all competent judges united in pronouncing an extraordinary performance of its kind, displaying not only prodigious labor, but a marvellous erudition, and a science of the highest order. The German Professor Noëldke, the most eminent authority in the world in that department, closed his review of the book with saying, "We will look forward with hope to meet the young Orientalist who has so early stepped forward as a master, many a time yet; and not only in the region of the Syriac."

Our earl's son is evidently very much of a man in his brains; and has acquitted himself royally. But the Arabic was his fascination. "It is appallingly hard," he wrote when he was first getting into it. But he conquered it. When he had used all the help Cambridge could afford him, to perfect himself he went to Leipsic where a more advanced instruction was to be had, and passed months there toiling like a slave. And he did perfect himself, i. e. in course of time and so far as he could by study; though he says in one of his letters that he "expects to peg away at the dictionary as long as he lives." But it is classical, literary Arabic that he has acquired; and now nothing will do but that he must know modern colloquial Arabic. So down he goes to Egypt and passes yet other months there—though owing to unforeseen circumstances of obstruction finding less opportunity to his desire than he had hoped—doing something to put that finish on his accomplishment. It was upon his return from that quest that he took the bicycle ride from Land's End to John O'Groat's House.

It can be nothing less than true to say that in the year 1886, five years after he took his degree, and when he was thirty years of age, there was hardly a young man in Great Britain—they were very few at any rate—who held a position by virtue of intellectual capacity and achievement, of more shining eminence than did Keith-Falconer; or whose promise for the future, in the ranks of learning, was so bright.

But this splendid fellow, it turns out has not yet decided what he will *do*. He knows what his general purpose in life is; he is going to do something with his acquisitions; but pre-

cisely what, is long an open question with him. At last, however, it is time to answer it. It looks as if scholarship had the best chance, and considerable title, to be made his calling, but he has never committed himself for good and all to that service.

And now in order to appreciate the shape in which the matter of his life work is before him, as well as his solution of it, it is necessary to inquire again what kind of a man he is; what his underlying thoughts are; his ideas on the subject of what life is for; his conception of its most eligible uses and rewards. Going, then, back to Harrow, we find that he arrived there at the age of thirteen,—a boy, but a big boy,—already fixed in principles of Christian uprightness. His manliness in that direction developed early. One of the masters of the school, Mr. Arthur Watson, says of him: "He was one of those boys . . . who are not afraid to have the courage of their opinions. Always high principled and religious, he never disguised his views. . . . It was refreshing to meet with one who was by no means disposed to swim necessarily with the stream; and who, though in no wise self-engrossed or unsociable, would not flinch a moment from saying or doing what he believed to be right at the risk of incurring unpopularity, or being charged with eccentricity. Not that he was anything of a prig or a Pharisee; far from it. He was an earnest, simple-hearted, devout Christian boy." A school-fellow of his named Russell, who has since been member of Parliament, and whose testimony is of special value as indicating what the other boys thought of him, having said of him that "his moral standard in speech and action was the highest," adds this in particular, which is worthy of special note: "He took an earnest, and, as he rose in school, an authoritative, part against those forms of 'evil communications' which are always present in a greater or less degree in every assemblage of boys." What could one wish better for a boy than that he should make it possible for the companions of his school days to bear that witness of him? It may be recalled here, as betokening the interest, and the sort of interest, he retained in his old school, that one of his many benefactions while he was in the University, was the foundation at Harrow of two liberal prizes called, after his

father, "the Kintore Prizes," designed to encourage the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures.

As the boy was, so was the youth, and so was the man. His Christian character went to Cambridge with him and was there maintained,—maintained and deepened. He grew ever more earnestly religious as he grew older. If any man in the University was exposed to the temptations that come in the social way, he was, with his rank and his wealth and his good-fellowship. But he lived a clean Christian life there, and had a splendid time, and hosts of friends, every one of whom respected him wholly.

But this is not the complete account of him as a Christian in those years. That same schoolmate Russell says of him at Harrow, that "his religion was not self-contained, personal and passive. He longed to make others better." It is in that connection that he speaks of his taking the open stand for purity he did. Also the Rev. Mr. Hensley before-mentioned, with whom he lived and studied mathematics the year before he went to Cambridge, tells how, at that time, he was in the habit of visiting the cottages of the poor, and that "often by the bedside of the sick and infirm would he sing and read to them, cheering and comforting many a weary soul, and not forgetting to help those in distress with his purse."

Lord Kintore's boy very early, it seems, became susceptible to the appeal of human want, and very early got a taste of the luxury of succoring it. And this thing increased in him.

There is a precinct of Cambridge called Barnwell which is mission ground. About the time he entered the University there was a movement among the more earnest sort of the religious men there, to do something more than had been done to relieve the moral and other miseries of that neighborhood, and Keith-Falconer joined himself to it right off, teaching in Sunday School, visiting, participating in religious services, and so on. One of the instruments of the debasement of the community there was a theatre of low character, which when it was for sale the missionary workers turned to and bought, Keith-Falconer raising a large share of the money. He obtained from the earl, his father, a thousand dollars; from the father of the lady he was engaged to, five hundred; added a liberal

subscription of his own, and found most of the rest among his friends. The place was made over into an institution of the kind to which Mr. Besant has given the name of "The People's Palace," and there, with all his bicycling and hard study, he put in a good deal of his time as long as he was in Cambridge.

Nor was that all. It is well known that in that extensive and variously ordered modern enterprize for the evangelizing of the heathendom and the alleviation of the sodden woes of that vast metropolitan sink of poverty and vice and wretchedness, East London, the "exceeding great and bitter cry" of which has, in these last years, made itself so powerfully heard in England, the Universities have taken a forward part; have been numerous and gloriously represented in it by both graduates and undergraduates. Keith-Falconer, first as an undergraduate, and afterward as a graduate, became one of the Cambridge delegation in that field. For a considerable period he went up to London once a week to lend a hand in the now celebrated Mile End Mission. And sometimes he made his tour of duty longer; on one occasion taking with him a student he was preparing for examination and staying a week, doing his "coaching" and missionarying together. And there again he bore a principal part in providing means for the erection of another "People's Palace," a huge one, costing not less than two hundred thousand dollars. In this undertaking he took the laboring oar as secretary, writing and sending out the pamphlet by which the funds for it were solicited, besides giving ten thousand dollars from his own purse.

And together with these coöperations with schemes of organized evangelical effort, he kept up, it appears, a constant special personal and private ministry of compassion to individuals whose wants came in his way—poor men sinking under misfortune, or victims of infirmity; families reduced to straits, and what not. His biographer gives some striking cases to illustrate this side of his Christian activity, saying that they were numerous, though as a rule known to but few. One of his clients—a drinking man, it may be conjectured—wrote of him after his death: "He told me, if by reason of frailty . . . I should fall into sin, to remember sinking Peter, and that the One who raised him from the water could give me strength to get up again."

So, it transpires, along with his fondness for learning, there deepened in him equally, as his manhood grew, the fondness for doing good to his fellow men, and the sense of his debt as a Christian, to all men.

The quality of his hero reveals a man, it is said. One of Keith-Falconer's heroes was "Chinese" Gordon, whom he knew and with whom he corresponded. Beyond measure he admired and loved him, but above all for his religious character. Gen. Gordon's tragic death in the massacre at Khartoum was a great sorrow to him. He could not get over it. In fact, the two men were not a little alike.

His countryman David Livingstone, too, was high in his list of heroes. Another was his friend and fellow-collegian and fellow-athlete, Studd—"Charley" Studd, he calls him—who was one of that noble company of educated and some of them wealthy young Englishmen, who in 1885 went out as volunteers to establish the China Inland Mission. Him he had letters from.

Yet another, and perhaps his hero-in-chief, was Mr. Charrington, the leader of that Mile End Mission in East London, a young man of family and fortune and culture, who had left all to cast in his lot with the poor; of whom he wrote that, while to some the course he had taken might occasion his being judged "eccentric," to his view, on the contrary, it showed him to be a "centric" man—distinctively so.

Rather exalted notions the earl's son has, it is to be perceived, and somewhat remarkable. Evidently, all things considered, the question of what he shall do will be settled on high grounds! He is not careless about it. He never has been. In 1881, soon after his graduation, he writes to a friend: "Pray constantly for me, especially that I may have my path in life more clearly marked out for me; or (which is perhaps a better request) that I may be led along the path intended for me."

Though the question remained unsettled for some while yet, there were ideas "working underground" in him, as one of his intimates says, that were getting him ready to recognize any providential disclosures of what that path was. Which disclosure, at last, was clearly vouchsafed to him—so he thought—and on this wise. He read an article written by Gen. Haig, of the

Royal Engineers, expressing, as the result of observations made while on duty at the military station of Aden on the Arabian coast, his strong conviction that there, at Aden, was the place of all places most advantageous for the founding of a Christian mission to the Mohammedans, an immense population of whom was within reach on lines of inland communication converging to that port.

As Keith-Falconer read this, and pondered it, the suspicion rose in him that he had discovered what his Arabic was *for*! Not alone his knowledge of the Arabic language, but his Arabic sympathies, his profound interest in the Arabic people, gained through study of their rich literature and their history: his whole furnishings as an orientalist in general, and an Arabist in particular. That was the very thing for him, he guessed. Accordingly he went to see Gen. Haig, who was in London, and conferred with him on the subject, to the result that his impressions were confirmed. He then proceeded, furthermore, to confer with the Foreign Mission Board of the Free Church of Scotland—the church in which he was born—to see what they would say to his project, for now it was assuming that shape in his mind. The encouragement he met in that quarter was such that in October, 1885, the same year his Syriac book came to press, he set out with his young wife—still a bride—a lady by birth, like-minded with him, on a trip to Aden, to look over the ground and satisfy himself by personal inspection as to the feasibility of a mission there, as to the kind of work it had better be, the outfit it would require, &c. One thing he had in view was to try the climate, which many Europeans cannot endure. For Aden, though commercially one of the central points of the world, is a fearful place to live in on account of its heat, an utterly dreary spot, all rock and sand, and with an arid desert behind it. But he imagined that with his extraordinary physique, he could stand it if anybody could. However, he had not the least idea of committing suicide, and so while there he made it a point scrupulously to investigate the ways and means of combating the unwholesome influences of the locality—did it as a matter of conscience. He staid four months. The conclusion he reached was that the opening was a hopeful one—very hopeful—and that he

would avail himself of it. The caravans he saw coming and going, at the rate of three hundred thousand camels a year, excited his imagination. He beheld in them vehicles for spreading the Word of Life over wide regions. The poor people he saw in their mud villages took him by the heart; they were so poor and in such darkness. And they were sick, without a physician. He discerned a chance there: he would bring a doctor to them.

Accordingly, having finished his survey, he went back to England, and took up the business of preparing to enter permanently on his chosen work. He gave at Cambridge for the first time the lectures pertaining to his Arabic professorship, taking for his subject, "the Meccan Pilgrimage." His hope was that he would be able to return annually and perform this duty, valuing the opportunity it would afford him to awaken interest in his enterprise.

He found the physician he wanted to go with him. He asked the General Assembly of the Free Church to formally appoint him missionary (he was a layman) giving as the reason his wish to feel that, in his service, he represented a great Christian body, and had their sympathy and prayers with him. But he undertook the whole pecuniary charge himself. This included his own and his wife's expenses, the salary of his medical colleague;—(to be paid, however, through the Free Church Treasury. A nice delicacy there: he wouldn't have the man feel that *he* paid him)—and the total cost of the Mission House, School, and Hospital he proposed to erect. He resigned his presidency of the London Bicycle Club in a genial speech at its annual dinner; paid farewell visits to his beloved Barnwell and Mile End Missions—making a parting gift of five hundred dollars to the former, and an effort to insure his life for the benefit of the latter, only no company would take the risk; took a bright and cheery leave of his kindred and friends, and set his gallant face to the East, to see dear England again or not, as God should will.

Thus the earl's son confesses that he is a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth, and because of things unseen, of which he is persuaded and which he has embraced, lays himself and his great endowments, and his great acquisitions—all that he

has and is—at Jesus' feet, counting it no sacrifice, but a joy and the benediction of Heaven on him that he may do it. Nay, that offering was made long ago: he was Christ's soldier before; only now he has got his marching orders.

The rest of the story is soon told. It was December 8th, 1886, that he landed at Aden this time, and five months after he was dead.

He had fixed upon a site for his station, a few miles back of Aden, on higher ground, where were wells of water and a community of six thousand souls, with as many more close by; a stopping place for caravans, a good situation for his hospital and his school, he had started building, had moved about in the vicinity and made a beginning of acquaintance with high and low, had just touched the work of teaching and healing, had found everything to encourage him so far; was every day growing more confident of being able, with God's help, to infuse a new element of blessing into the life around him, and more thankful that he was there, and happy as he could be, when the fever that is the peril of that country to foreigners overtook him. He fought against it, he would not have it, he was ashamed of it, he apologized for it, he explained in his letters home that he was not to be blamed for it, for the exposure that had brought it on had under circumstances not foreseen, been positively unavoidable. It was a slow affair at first, and he made light of it. "I have plenty of time for reading," he tells his mother, and sets down an astonishing list of books he has improved the occasion to go through.

But gradually, with successive abatements and returns, it undermined his great strength and reduced him to an extremity of weakness. But he never lost his cheer. "Isn't it very strange (he said), I get generally so depressed when I am unwell? but now I don't feel in the least cast down. After all these weeks of illness I feel in perfectly good spirits." God's sweet comforts were with him. That was but five days before the end. He was his own manly, brave, loving and lovable self to the final hour. Early in the morning of May 10th, 1887, he fell asleep, having not yet completed his thirty-first year. And so in a land where he had trusted to plant the gospel he found only a grave.

Was it worth while? Was it not all a great mistake, his going there; the squandering of a precious life? Were this query to be discussed, it would be only reasonable to include under it the case of certain other young men, on commercial service and on military service, who about that time, and from a like cause, also died at Aden and lie buried there in the same cemetery with Keith-Falconer. It was certainly *as well worth* while to say the least, if we judge as Christians, for him to incur the hazards of that coast as for them.

But passing that matter: whether or no Keith-Falconer's life might have been better expended, it was not lost, but very far from it; as began to appear in the immediate sequel of his departure. His biographer most fitly heads the last chapter of his volume with that extract from *The Pilgrim's Progress* in which *Valiant-for-truth* ere he passed over the River "while all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side" says to those about him: "My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it."

It is no surprise to learn that as soon as news flashed home that Keith-Falconer had fallen on the field, hands not a few were at once stretched out to seize the sword that had dropped from his dying grasp. There was great mourning for him in Scotland and in England, and many eulogies. Cambridge, his Alma Mater, it might be said, lifted up her voice and wept. But what would have given his heart most gladness, was the number of emulous youth that stood forward and begged to take his place; not necessarily at his post, but in the service. Eleven out of one college class at Edinborough offered themselves; one of whom, a scholar of notable promise in Keith-Falconer's own department, and a kindred spirit it is said, was assigned to the mission at Aden, and is probably by this time there,—may God bless him,—taking up the work where he left off. We may think of that young man standing beside Keith-Falconer's grave, and oft repairing to it, to renew above its mound, his faith, his courage, and his consecration. A sacred spot to him it will be, and to those who succeed him, and to many another in all time to come.

This earl's son was, in our earthly way of speaking, cut off in his prime, his early prime. But was he cut off? Living and dying he was the Lord's. And who shall say that the fruit of his dying; the holy inspirations kindled by his example; causing his works to follow him as they are doing, is not to be reckoned with *his life*?

Who can compute the value of his memory: *being just what it is*, to the church and to the cause of Christ? Perhaps, if he had filled out the full measure of his days, and had died an old man, having done all that he hoped to do, we should not have had so much reason to be thankful for him. At any rate we have reason to be thankful to him, various reason. He is the sign of a good many things that those who believe the Christian revelation, and that the kingdom of Christ is coming on earth; who are hoping and praying, and laboring toward that event, may well regard with gratitude and uplifting of heart. And, not the least, as was said in the beginning of this; that there is still in our generation a virtue abiding in the Gospel of the New Testament, to mould and fashion the all-surpassing individual of that confessedly supreme type of humanity, the Man of Faith.

JOSEPH H. TWICHELL.

ARTICLE II.—BRYCE'S "*AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH*."

The American Commonwealth. By JAMES BRYCE, Author of the "*Holy Roman Empire*," M. P. for Aberdeen. In three volumes. London: MacMillan & Co. In two volumes. New York: 1888. 8vo, pp. xx. 750, 743.

IN taking up or in laying down Mr. Bryce's book, it is impossible to avoid several familiar reflections. For example, it is just sixty years since Sidney Smith, castigating our national habit of self-adulation, asked: "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? . . . Under which of the old tyrannical governments of Europe is every sixth man a slave, whom his fellow-creatures may buy and sell and torture?"—and here is an English book of three sturdy volumes, over 2000 octavo pages, altogether on American institutions and life, and American slavery has been by law extinct for almost a quarter of a century! Here also is a book that has the value which must have suggested the aphorism—"A foreign nation is a contemporaneous posterity." And this book too forces us to remember, and to contrast it with, other books written of America; most of all, with that classic for style and spirit, so fascinating to the young ambition of America, and, as we deliberately think, so philosophical,—the "*Democracy in America*" of Alexis de Tocqueville.

Resisting for the present the impulse to comparison, such as almost bars our way, we cannot help venturing again so far into the region of commonplace as to call to mind the well-observed fact, that insularity is a characteristic of the general British or English mind. With but few exceptions, it is only a matter of degree between different English minds. For example, Mr. Goldwin Smith just now thinks that if woman suffrage should prevail in England, its prevalence here would be greatly accelerated, English political precedents having such influence in the United States! And Mr. Smith has lived here and in Canada for more than twenty years! Whether Mr. Bryce is

among the few admitted exceptions, or how far he is affected by the fact of his nationality, will best appear as we proceed to examine his work. Putting aside, so far as is possible, all prepossessions and prejudices—using these words in their best sense—it will be our main aim to see how truthful, how life-like, a picture Mr. Bryce has drawn and filled up, of the American commonwealth.

One welcome limitation is imposed to our task—the Article of Prof. Baldwin in the April number of this magazine. It will be neither needful nor prudent to attempt to glean in the field which he has harvested.

The plan of Mr. Bryce's work involved at least one special difficulty, which ought in justice to him to be kept in mind. His effort was to describe the American commonwealth, both in general and in detail, laying the greater emphasis apparently on the details. Such a plan, well carried out, necessarily involved much patient plodding, along with a due degree of analytical skill and philosophical observation and discussion. In such a work, one or the other quality is quite apt to stand in the way of the best result. If details, mere items of information, greatly predominate, the book may be in a sense valuable; it will hardly be readable; and a highly valuable book must be readable. If discussion or generalization, on the other hand, be undertaken, on too slender a ground-work of information or exact facts, the result can in no sense be highly valuable.

Mr. Bryce has had this problem to meet, and we think he has met it with a fair degree of success. If the saying of Carlyle be true, that the biography of *any* man truly told, would be interesting, there is nevertheless a wide range of varying values in matters of detail, and it certainly produces a sense of incongruity to be told in the height of grave discussion of one of the foremost features of our government, that "each senator sits in a morocco leather covered arm-chair, with a desk in front of it." The fact has value for some purposes, perhaps for historical or literary realism, but it does not quite go well with other facts which have undoubted historic and diagnostic value in presenting such a theme as Mr. Bryce has to do with. He has plainly, however, worked in the spirit of his own re-

mark: "The inquisition of the forces which move society is a high matter; and even where certainty is unattainable, it is some service to have determined the facts." (vol. i., p. 14.) The vast number of facts here gathered and arranged, make one of the most remarkable features of the work. The accuracy of the statements of fact is equally remarkable. Still it is an open query whether such a book as the author tells us he first intended—"a study of the more salient social and intellectual phenomena of contemporary America"*—would not have been more effective and more permanently valuable, in a literary as well as in an historical and forensic way.

The aim fixed upon by Mr. Bryce—"the picture of the American commonwealth as a whole"—made it inevitable that our political system, our system of government, should be the leading motive of the discussion, the foremost object in the picture. The result is that the present book is divided into six Parts; the first two being strictly confined to the framework of the Federal and State governments; the next two, to the forces that operate the governments—the party system, and public opinion; the next, to illustrations and reflections on the working of the governments; leaving only one of the six parts to what our author calls "Social institutions." To our mind, there is a sense of disproportion in the result, in view of Mr. Bagehot's acute and just remark: "Success in government in England, as elsewhere, is due far more to the civil instincts and capacities of our race, than to any theoretical harmony or perfection of the rules and formulæ of governmental conduct." The American people are a more important factor of the American commonwealth than the American constitution or government. Mr. Bagehot has further remarked, that "any blame cast on the American constitution is so much praise to be given to the American people." And again: "The American people extol their institutions and so defraud themselves of their due praise. But if they had not a genius for politics; if they had not a moderation in action singularly curious where superficial speech is so violent; if they had not a regard for law, such as no great people have yet evinced, and infinitely surpassing

* *Preface*, p. ix. Note. The references in this Article are to the paging of the three-volume, octavo edition.

ours, the multiplicity of authorities in the American constitution would long since have brought it to a bad end."* This is the highest praise, and praise from Cæsar, with no note of insularity. The American constitution and government may be easily criticised; the really incommunicable attribute and secret of the American commonwealth is the qualities of the American people, to which Mr. Bagehot pays this remarkable tribute.

Mr. Bryce has grasped and presented the idea of our dual or compound system of government and what it involves and implies, with all the ease and power of a master,—an effort which has baffled many foreigners. It is, of course, the key to all knowledge of our political system, as well as its most striking and pervading characteristic,—“the existence of a double government, a double allegiance, a double patriotism.” (vol. i., p. 16.) The brief second chapter of Part I, is, all in all, the most admirable and luminous passage of this book. Its statement of principles and conditions, its illustrations, its statements of results, are all exquisitely apt, and accurate. But Mr. Bryce has hardly been equally successful in the succeeding chapter which treats of the origin of the constitution. Throughout this chapter,—Chapter III., of Part I,—admirable as in many ways it is, lurks the prime error that our constitution was, substantially and characteristically, the result of the creative power and genius embodied in the convention of 1787. Thus Mr. Bryce says, in language which reminds of Mr. Gladstone's on the same point: “The Convention had not only to create *de novo*, on the most slender basis of pre-existing national institutions, a national government,” etc. (vol. i., p. 28.) We add, with deference, that this fallacy seems to be accompanied and interwoven with the equally fallacious notion that there is a very wide contrast, in their working and effects, between written and unwritten constitutions.

It has been made clear beyond almost any other conclusion of our history and upon evidence open to all, that the American constitution was and is the strict result of historical evolution, the fruit of experience here in America, aided to a considerable extent, by English experience, and slightly by some

* English Constitution, pp. 289, 290.

general conclusions of political philosophy, particularly those presented in Montesquieu's "*Esprit des Lois*," published a little less than forty years before the convention of 1787, and at that time retaining undiminished its extraordinary and rightful hold on the public mind. The great general influence of this work is visible in the actual thought and discussions of the Federal convention, in the debates of the State conventions, and especially in the *Federalist*; and we are reminded to note here that Sir Henry Maine has been led, on this point, into almost the only remark in the whole range of his writings, which seems to us an over-statement or a seriously questionable conclusion, when he says that "it may be confidently laid down, that neither the institution of the Supreme Court nor the entire structure of the Constitution were the least likely to occur to any body's mind before the publication of the "*Esprit des Lois*."*

The conclusion that the American constitution is a natural historical growth is verifiable by reference both to its separate provisions and its broad scheme and outlines. This has been done, once for all, in brief, by the remarkable Article of Prof. Alexander Johnston in the *New Princeton Review* for September, 1887,—an Article which marks a distinct advance in our knowledge of, as well as in the only proper method of valuing, our constitution,—an Article "the virtue of which is,"—contrary to what was wittily said of one of Montesquieu's earlier works,—"*in its facts*," not less than "*in its views*." To the reading, study, and verification of this Article, we commend whomsoever would begin to well understand our government or the American commonwealth; and to this end we quote from it these weighty words: "The best reason for American pride in the constitution lies, not in the creative genius of its framers, nor in the beauty and symmetry of their work, but in the fact that it was and is a perfect expression of the institutional methods of its people."

The marvel of the framing of the constitution, on which Mr. Bryce so much dwells, is not diminished by this view of its origin, nor are Hamilton's words which he quotes, made less correct:—"The establishment of a constitution, in time of

* *Popular Government*, p. 218.

profound peace, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a prodigy to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety."* But an historical error is not apt to be so mischievous as a philosophical fallacy. Mr. Bryce seems to us to have fallen into the latter, as we have hinted, in his almost habitual mode of contrasting written and unwritten constitutions. His favorite descriptive equivalent of "written," in this relation, is "rigid." He carries in mind and conveys to the reader the idea that an unwritten constitution, by its nature, is flexible, and a written one, by comparison, rigid.

The first essay in Mr. Bagehot's "English constitution," should be read in view of this distinction. He there remarks, in substance, that whoever would treat of a living, working constitution,—“a constitution that is in actual work and power”—meets the special difficulty, that “the object is in constant change.” “A contemporary writer,” he observes,—“who tries to paint what is before him is puzzled and perplexed; what he sees is changing daily, Other living governments are changing too.”

This is both acute, true, and important. We speak, in ordinary phrase, as does Mr. Bryce, of written and unwritten constitutions and laws, but in a high sense the law or force which really controls and fixes governmental and social development and progress is always unwritten. It is beyond the wit or power of man greatly to trammel up the future. Circumstances and exigencies of life, changing needs and desires of men or communities, adapt, modify, or override written constitutions and laws. True it is, as one of our great orators has said:—“Nature's live growths crowd out and rive dead matter. Ideas strangle statutes. Pulse-beats wear down granite, whether piled in jails or capitol. The people's hearts are the only title-deeds after all.”† The history of the development of our government and law since 1789 teaches this lesson. Certain large outlines of government were sketched in our constitution; certain general relations between the States and the United States were established; certain broad powers to be exercised by the several departments of the national government were defined;

* *Federalist* (Dawson), No. 85, p. 615.

† Wendell Phillips; *Speeches and Lectures*, p. 267.

certain leading limitations upon both the States and the United States were fixed; such was the written constitution. And then this constitution was committed to the keeping and working of a young, hopeful, ardent people, by position and in large degree by training, dissociated from the traditions of Europe, and committed to influences and principles opposed to those traditions; such was the unwritten constitution. No considerate judgment will say less than that the great ideas of the written constitution were wise with the wisdom of experience, and of the spirit fitted to inform with power and beneficence the new government. Yet in the light and retrospect of a century, it is plain that our constitution as it exists and operates to-day,—its success as well as its actual development,—is due, more than to its framers, to three great facts and forces in our history, outside of the written constitution,—(1) the unequalled practical sagacity, influence, and patriotism of Washington, as President; (2) the intellectual, moral, and judicial greatness of Marshall, as Chief Justice; and (3) the profound depth of the influence and effects of the civil war of 1861 and its causes. Without these forces, it is entirely conceivable that with the same written constitution, our national development, political and otherwise, might have been widely and essentially different from all we now see.

Perfect, or great rigidity of constitution, absolute inflexibility of construction, are as impossible as they are undesirable. If human language would lend itself to such results, human society would not. But language is incapable of excluding all looseness and uncertainty of meaning. The opposing rules of strict construction and liberal construction, are applied or may be applied to any written document. Centripetal and centrifugal forces exist in human society as truly as in physical nature. The radical and conservative tendencies are inherent in different mental constitutions. These facts make it inevitable that men of equal intellectual integrity and power, of equal purity and patriotism, will find not only divergent and hostile meanings in the same written instrument, but meanings not attached or perhaps dreamed of by its authors.

If a close contrast be made of the American and British constitutions,—one, a type of written constitutions, the other, of

unwritten,—we think the result is that, under the influence of public opinion, the American constitution has been, or has been made, more flexible, less "rigid," than the British. A small part, if any, of the advantage or disadvantage of our constitution, as respects its practical adaptability, is to be assigned to the fact that it is written, and not unwritten. Traditional tendencies, historical influences, are more inflexible and controlling than written formulæ or texts of government. Whoever has not learned this, seems to us not to have read clearly the teaching of experience.

As between the British constitution and ours, or indeed almost any other unwritten constitution, so-called, the additional error of fact arises, which is expressed by saying that the former is written, while the latter is unwritten. If, as Mr. Dicey so lucidly points out, the British constitution is divided generally into the *law* of the constitution, and the *conventions* of the constitution,—into original statutes, charters, enactments of some sort, on the one hand, and traditions, customs, prescriptions, on the other hand,—the latter are as clearly and fully expressed and written to-day for all their uses and purposes, as the former. To call a constitution which began largely in mere prescriptions which are now and have long been accurately and fully recorded and expressed in terms, an *unwritten* constitution in contrast with ours, is a distinction which would be worthless, if it were not misleading. So far, therefore, as Mr. Bryce's picture of our government and people is affected by the distinction which he in terms lays down in describing our constitution as written or rigid, it must be pronounced inaccurate, not life-like. As an example of this influence, let us specify the following passage (the italics being ours) in which he is setting the experience of the framers of our constitution over against such experience as Englishmen might have had in 1787:

"They had the inestimable advantage of knowing *written or rigid* constitutions in the concrete: that is to say, of comprehending how a system of government actually moves and plays *under the control of a mass of statutory provisions defining and limiting the powers of its several organs*. The so-called Constitution of England consists largely of customs, precedents, traditions, understandings, often vague and *always flexible*. It was quite a different thing, and for the purpose of making

a constitution for the American nation an even more important thing. to have lived under and learned to work *systems determined by the hard and fast lines of a single document* having the full force of law, for this experience taught them how much might safely be included in such a document and how far room must be left under it for unpredictable emergencies and unavoidable development." (vol. i., p. 88.)

It will be seen from the fourth chapter, that our author while stating the nature of the Federal government and its precise objects, with precision and correctness, and even affirming that the Federal plan was "the application to the wide sphere of the nation of a plan approved by the experience of the several States," and that "the plan had, in the States, been the outcome rather of a slow course of historical development than of conscious determination at any one point of their progress," still carries along to the end his fixed conception and phrase of a "supreme or *rigid* constitution." (vol. i., p. 45.)

Mr. Bryce closes his third chapter with this paragraph :

"Lastly, they (the American people in 1787) had one principle of the English common law whose importance deserves special mention, the principle that an act done by an official person or law-making body in excess of his or its legal competence is simply void. Here lay the key to the difficulties which the establishment of a variety of authorities not subordinate to one another, but each supreme in its own defined sphere, necessarily involved. The application of this principle made it possible not only to create a national government which should leave free scope for the working of the State governments, but also to so divide the powers of the national government among various persons and bodies as that none should absorb or overbear the others." (p. 88.)

We have not been sure at times that we have correctly apprehended the author's meaning here. In all regular or constitutional governments and under all political systems which undertake to regulate the powers and conduct of government, acts done in excess of the powers conferred or defined, whether by written or unwritten constitutions, are of course without authority. This is not so much a principle of law, as a result of reason, a logical necessity. But in referring this "principle" to the English common law, we are certainly unable to agree with our author; still less, in ascribing to it special importance in reaching the result of our constitution.

It is perhaps hazardous to attempt to state what is, either by comparison with other constitutions, especially the British, or

with other ideas or principles embodied or applied by it, the foremost idea or principle of our constitution; but if the necessity existed, we should by no means follow Mr. Bryce in the paragraph just quoted. We should turn rather to one of the noblest opinions of our own Supreme Court, and there read:—"There are rights in every free government beyond the control of the State. A government which recognized no such rights, which held the lives, the liberty, and the property of its citizens subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unlimited control of even the most democratic depositary of power, is after all, but a despotism. . . . The theory of our governments, State and National, is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere. The executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of these governments, are all of defined and limited powers. There are limitations of such power which grow out of the essential nature of all free governments. Implied reservations of individual rights, without which the social compact could not exist, and which are respected by all governments worthy of the name."*

Here is stated, as it seems to us, the most characteristic idea which possessed the convention of 1787. They had, as Mr. Bryce well remarks, the experience of the English constitution; for their oracle of political philosophy, the treatise of Montesquieu; and they had the experience of their colonial and State governments. (vol. i., pp. 35, 36.) But they had what was, if not better, yet more indelibly stamped on their political conscience, the conviction that absolutism should have no place in our political system, no analogue in our political vocabulary. Following the lead especially of this conviction—a conviction growing more from experience than philosophy—they set metes and bounds to all the authorities of the government they provided for and established. It was their will, not any one principle or more of the English common law, which guided them here. They traced the lines of power for all departments, delimiting the extent of every authority and agency, but they had not then framed a *constitution*, or set up a *government*. In Mr. Webster's words: "It should be called, rather, a collection of topics for everlasting controversy; heads

* Mr. Justice S. F. Miller, in *Loan Ass'n v. Topeka*, 20 Wall., 655.

of debate for a disputatious people." To all this, therefore, they added simply the provision:—"The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution." Their work then became a constitution; its result and fruit, a viable government, not because, as Mr. Bryce appears to think, of the force or application of the principle that acts done in excess of power or authority are simply void, but because of the extension of the judicial power of the national government to all "cases" arising under the constitution. Judicial power being power to hear and determine controversies between parties capable of bringing such controversies into civil courts,—a power not political in any sense, but sharply distinguishable from it, and exercisable only in the discharge of the function of hearing and deciding causes in their nature cognizable by courts of law and equity,—this provision of the constitution is simply the grant of power to the national courts to hear and decide cases arising under the constitution and brought in courts by parties authorized by law to there sue and be sued. *This* is the device, the key, the principle, which makes our Union other than a rope of sand,—warranting the remark of Sir Henry Maine, that "the Supreme Court is not only the most interesting but a virtually unique creation of the founders of the government,"—but, as he elsewhere remarks, with exquisite accuracy, a court whose "functions arise from its very nature," under a constitution "forged from local materials."*

We have dwelt so long on this point, not because the error we have pointed out so greatly affects the practical value of Mr. Bryce's examination of our system of government, but because of its theoretic inaccuracy, and the complete inadequacy of the explanation offered by our author, of the crowning wisdom and prescience of the men of 1787.

The five chapters,—V. to IX. inclusive,—with the XXth and XXIst,—given to the President and his office, are filled with careful analysis, acute observation, and interesting historical details and contrasts. In these chapters, however, the opinion is more than once hinted, which appears in terms on page 84, that "the ordinary law was for some purposes practically sus-

* *Popular Government*, pp. 217, 209.

pendent during the war of secession ;" to which is added :—
"But it will always have to be similarly suspended in similar crises, and the suspension enures to the benefit of the President, who becomes a sort of dictator."

Our surprise is greater at this remark from the fact stated by Mr. Bryce in his preface, that "the greater part of the proofs of these volumes have been read by one or other" of several very eminent American jurists and publicists named. When and where, we beg to be informed, was the ordinary law practically suspended during our civil war? It cannot be meant that it was suspended as to the insurgents; for our ordinary law of course did not reach them. It must be meant that at the North, in the loyal States, this suspension of the ordinary law took place. This is important; for if the statement is an error, it is more and worse than an error; it is a grave imputation on our system of government as well as on one of our Presidents, and our people. Did the courts anywhere cease to sit during the war? Was crime unpunished or were civil wrongs unredressed? Did litigation cease for want of a forum? Did that *finis litium*, which is not for the interest of the public, supervene? Surely not. The United States were carrying on war, under the constitution, with the people and governments of eleven States. War measures were taken and carried out; that is, armies were raised, governed, and maintained; levies were made and conscriptions enforced; military law was applied to military forces; and martial law was in a few instances proclaimed and enforced agreeably to the conditions warranting it, according to public law. In one aspect only that we now recall, was any executive, legislative, or judicial authority exercised during the four years of internecine struggle, which could bear even the name of "suspension of the ordinary law." This was the executive proclamation of President Lincoln of September 24, 1862, by the terms of which "the writ of habeas corpus is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by sentence of any court-martial or military commission." It is true that the constitution in section 9 of the

Article defining the legislative powers of the government, declares, that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." The weight of authority clearly is, in our opinion, in support of the view that Congress alone may judge of the occasion warranting such suspension of the writ, but it is to be remembered that most eminent lawyers and jurists warmly maintained the rightful authority of the President to suspend the writ in the manner and on the occasion referred to. This instance furnishes no precedent, therefore, of a claim to suspend the privilege of the writ as a mere exercise of the executive will, but as the exercise only of a power vested in the President by the constitution. Except, however, in this instance, what warrant can be found for the remark, thus gravely and formally made here, and elsewhere assumed and virtually repeated?

Not only was the ordinary law not suspended in fact during the civil war, but the Supreme Court has never failed to assert the doctrine that the constitution and laws of the land,— "the ordinary law"—are never and can never be suspended. That court in *Ex Parte Milligan*,* says, "It can serve no useful purpose to inquire what the laws and usages of war are, whence they originated, where formed, and on whom they operate; *they can never be applied to citizens in States which have upheld the authority of the government, and where the courts are open and their process unobstructed.*"

Again, it says: "The constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, *equally in war and in peace*, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, *at all times, and under all circumstances*. . . . Not one of these safeguards (contained in the constitution), can the President, or Congress, or the judiciary disturb, except the one concerning the writ of habeas corpus." Attention is then called to the fact that Congress did in March, 1863, pass an act authorizing the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and that in September, 1863, the President exercised this power. "Every one,"—continues the court,— "in the military or naval service is amenable to the jurisdic-

* Wallace, 2, 121.

tion which Congress has created for their government, and while thus serving, surrenders his right to be tried by the civil courts. *All other persons* (italics, the court's), citizens of States where the courts are open, if charged with crime, are guaranteed the inestimable privilege of trial by jury. This privilege is a vital principle underlying the whole administration of criminal justice; it is not held by sufferance, *and cannot be frittered away on any plea of State or political necessity.*"

We confess nothing in this book, for reasons we have now explained, has surprised us so greatly as this comment of Mr. Bryce. It is not possible to say less than that it is a total and grave error as to fact and as to theory, as to the past and as to the future.

The chapters from the Xth to the XXIst are concerned with the legislative powers of the government. Our author's capacity for orderly analytical treatment and for subduing facts to a perspicuous arrangement at once intelligible and attractive, appears here to its best advantage. His general estimate of our actual Senate an upper House of legislation, seems to us too high absolutely,—too high also relatively to the lower House. His development of the causes which he conceives have made our Senate a successful feature of our system, is most valuable, the chief cause being thus sententiously put:—"It is built on a wide and solid foundation of choice by the people and consequent responsibility to them;" and he regards the chief object of the constitution in providing the Senate to be "the creation of a centre of gravity in the government, an authority able to correct and check on the one hand the "democratic recklessness" of the House, on the other, the "monarchical ambition" of the President" (vol. i., p. 150). Mr. Bryce, we are glad to observe, has not failed to note the abuse covered by the soft name—"Senatorial courtesy,"—as well as the powerful impulse given to the spoils system, by the Senate marketing its powers of confirmation and rejection of Presidential nominations.

One remark of our author upon the Senate we are at an entire loss to account for, whether to attribute it to *naïveté*, to inadvertence, or to a belief in its strict truth. On page 158,

he says: "The Senate now contains many men of great wealth. Some, an increasing number, are senators because they are rich; a few *are rich because they are senators*," etc. The implication of this phrase is plain, and we are forced to think it a correct observation of our "*Millionaires' Club*," but our interest here is in its subjective cause and motive with Mr. Bryce. As it stands, it is an attack not exceeded in boldness and directness by any partisan newspaper writer or pamphleteer of our own country.

The difficulty of describing a constitution actually in operation, which Mr. Bagehot has remarked, exists in describing the Senate,—it is in perpetual flux. Still, we think it is safe to say that for the past twenty years, it has as a body lagged, rather than led, in the race of ability, patriotism, public spirit, political reform, and statemanship, as compared with the other House, or with the executive and judicial branches. This is due to causes which Mr. Bryce observes merely as facts—"the creation of a set of traditions and a corporate spirit," and its growing plutocratic character and tendency. Since the death of Mr. Sumner, it would not be easy to name one senator of the highest order of ability or of the highest senatorial bearing and character. Let one who doubts this make the attempt. The Senate has now and has always had, a number of members who by reason of fair abilities, long service, assiduous cultivation and observance of the "traditions" and "corporate spirit," as well as by habitual subservience to party spirit, have become leaders of the Senate as well as great party leaders. One need not be so invidious as to give names in order to verify this opinion. The lack of legislation is by no means one of our chief evils, but of wise legislation or of attempts or aims at wise legislation, we have had a plentiful lack in the Senate. Just now too, the tendencies seem downward. More and more, the Senate is becoming what Mr. Ingalls recently styled it, in welcoming a new Senator,—"*The finest Club in America*."

The chapters on the committees of Congress, on congressional legislation, and on congressional finance—XV., XVI., and XVII.,—are especially able and valuable. Our author rarely, if

ever, loses sight of the broad difference between the British Parliament and our Congress in respect to the extent of their power. Parliamentary omnipotence is a perfectly accurate phrase as applied to the English national legislature. Congressional omnipotence is precisely as great a solecism as executive omnipotence would be. The idea has no place in our system. Mr. Bagehot, with his usual effectiveness and accuracy of expression, divides the British constitution into its *dignified* and its *efficient* parts. "The efficient secret," he says, "of the British Constitution is the close union, the nearly complete fusion of the legislative and executive authorities." "The Cabinet," he further observes, "is a combining committee,—a *hyphen* which joins, a *buckle* which fastens, the legislative part of the State to the executive part of the State." "The Americans," he continues, "of 1787 thought they were copying the English constitution, but they were contriving a contrast to it."* He describes our government as a type of composite governments, the English as a type of a simple government, in which the ultimate power on all questions is in the same hands, the ultimate authority in the English constitution being "a newly-elected House of Commons." This is admirable description. It is lucidity itself. If Mr. Bryce has hit upon no like illuminating terms and phrases, he has not overlooked the distinctions.

In the light of these contrasts, as well as from the nature of the theme, Mr. Bryce's chapter on congressional finance is of prime interest. Nowhere are the contrasts between the British parliament and our national legislature so patent as in their respective methods of dealing with financial questions, particularly the constant topics of taxation and revenue. While it is generally idle to try to weigh the advantages of the one against those of the other,—the problem being one of adaptation or suitableness to the history, habits, and conditions of the nation or people,—yet there are grounds on which the British legislative methods of finance seem, concretely as well as abstractly, wiser, more efficient, and more salutary than ours. Here Mr. Bryce is at his best,—not so much by way of argument as of elucidation. He sees, and puts his finger on the anomalies of our congressional finance. In view of the excessive revenues

* English Constitution, p. 288.

under the tariff recently prevailing, "the Committee of Ways and Means," he acutely points out, "have no motive for adapting taxation to expenditure." If this be true,—and Mr. Bryce makes its truth clear, if any intelligent man ever really doubted it,—is it not the most remarkable present fact regarding the American commonwealth? A tenet, a postulate, an axiom, of all systems heretofore, from Charlemagne and Alfred to the last Minister of Finance in any government of Europe, is set aside, overthrown, discarded, here. Mr. Bryce, though writing only objectively of this point, deserves thanks for the clearness and fidelity with which he has made this anomaly of our administration stand out. He states, moreover, the only reason why we have been able so to defy the consequences of our violation of economic law, in these sentences :

"Under the system of congressional finance here described, America wastes millions annually. But her wealth is so great, her revenue so elastic, that she is not sensible of the loss. She has the glorious privilege of youth, the privilege of committing errors, without suffering from their consequences." (Vol. i., p. 244.)

Contrary to our antecedent expectation, we regard the three chapters of this work,—XXII. to XXIV. inclusive,—as second to no others in grasp and development of their theme,—the judicial system established by and under the constitution. The treatment is compendious but of extreme clearness and aptness, and the chapters are crowded with judicious observations and reflections. Thus, he says : "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the American constitution as it now stands, with the mass of fringing decisions which explain it, is a far more complete and finished instrument than it was when it came fire-new from the hands of the Convention. It is not merely their work but the work of the judges, and most of all of one man, the great Chief Justice Marshall" (p. 339). Again, referring to the well-known decisions (in 1876) of the Granger Cases,* he says, with effective moderation : "I do not presume to doubt the correctness of these decisions ; but they evidently represent a different view of the sacredness of private rights and of the powers of a legislature from that entertained by Chief Justice Marshall and his contemporaries." Here also he directs attention to what he evidently regards as a covert and insidious

* *Munn v. Illinois*, and following cases in 94 U. S.

attack made on the integrity, authority, and independence of the Supreme Court in 1870, in the appointment of two new judges and the subsequent reversal of the first legal-tender decisions of that court. He implies here, rather than asserts, that resort was had, in the mode of attack, to the discredited partisan practice of English prime ministers in affording the House of Lords. "What prevents," says our author in concluding the XXIVth chapter, "such assaults on the fundamental law—assaults which, however immoral in substance, would be perfectly legal in form? Not the mechanism of government, for all its checks have been evaded. Not the conscience of the legislature and the President, for heated combatants seldom shrink from justifying the means by the end. Nothing but the fear of the people, whose broad good sense and attachment to the great principles of the Constitution may generally be relied on to condemn such a perversion of its forms. Yet if excitement has risen high over the country, a majority of the people may acquiesce; and then it matters little whether what is a revolution be accomplished by openly violating or merely distorting the forms of law. To the people we come sooner or later; it is upon their wisdom and self-restraint that the stability of the most cunningly-devised scheme of government will in the last resort depend." (vol. i., pp. 359, 360.)

All this is judicious and timely in itself, but Mr. Bryce was scarcely justified in connecting these strictures and observations with the historical events in 1870 to which he refers. He seems plainly to have understood that the creation of two additional judgeships by Congress in 1869 and the appointments made by President Grant, were pre-arranged parts of a scheme to secure the reversal of the legal-tender decisions of 1870; but no evidence exists which appears to us to support such a view, and it may not be amiss to put the facts again on record here.

In 1866, Congress, moved no doubt by its antagonism to President Johnson, provided that no vacancies arising in the Supreme Court should be filled until the number of judges should be reduced to seven. In April, 1869, the number was increased to nine, the act to take effect on the first Monday of December, 1869. The first legal-tender cases* were decided in

* *Hepburn v. Griswold*, 8 Wall., 608, and following case in same vol.

conference, November 27th, 1869, when the court actually had eight members present, the decisions being announced from the bench February 7th, 1870, three of the eight judges dissenting. The act increasing the number of judges, therefore, was passed before the first legal-tender decisions were made, even in conference, and the act took effect before the decisions were known to the public.

Judge Grier, one of the members who joined in the decisions of November 27th, 1869, resigned February 1st, 1870, and Judge Strong was appointed to the vacancy, February 18th, 1870; Judge Bradley was appointed to fill the additional judgeship under the act referred to, March 21st, 1870. At the same term of the court, at which the first decisions were made, the Attorney-General acting, as is presumable, under suggestion or instruction of the administration, moved to reopen the question; the motion prevailed by the votes of the two new judges added to those of the three judges who had dissented from the first decisions; the question was reargued and the former decisions were reversed on May 1st, 1871, by the votes of the same five judges, four judges dissenting. These facts are of course of record and undisputed.* What is not of record and what is disputed, is that the two new judgeships were created, or the two new judges selected, in order to reach this result. That the President and Attorney-General regarded the first decisions as erroneous in principle, and unfortunate in their possible consequences, is not questioned; but that they contrived, alone or with others, to "pack" the court to secure their reversal, we think is not a warrantable judgment upon the facts. The true point of criticism seems to us to be the willingness of the five judges to reopen and reverse a solemn adjudication of the court once made and published. On this, much may be said, and speaking from our own conviction that the first decision was right and the second wrong, as well as the conviction that such questions once decided ought not to be reopened, we deeply disapprove the action of the majority of the court in 1871; but we do not think the idea or charge that it was a predetermined scheme to which the President, the Attorney-General, Congress, and the majority of the court,

* See 11 and 12 Wallace, pp. 682 and 528 respectively.

consciously lent themselves, is supported by any facts or any just inference from facts.

Mr. Bryce's Part Second—sixteen chapters—is given to the description and discussion of the State governments, under which title he also treats of rural local government and the government of cities. He is right in remarking the fact of the relatively slight attention paid, by foreigners especially,—though the same is true, to too large a degree, of our own writers,—to this part of the American political system. We have called attention to the fact that historically almost every feature of our national constitution had been tried in the State constitutions,—even the right and duty of the supreme judicature to set aside laws violating the fundamental charter of the government.* There is no way, therefore, of studying the Federal constitution deeply or adequately, except through the State constitutions. With the true historical instinct and judgment, Mr. Bryce discerns the value of this, and in these chapters works upon these lines. He allows himself, however, to fall at once into a statement and discussion of the vexed question of "sovereignty" as between our States and Nation, and of the right of secession by the States and coercion by the United States. Americans, we think, will not regard his statement of these questions or his observations upon them, as adequate or correct. We know it is still common in this country to decry the historical argument which is thought to support the view that the Union is and was meant to be, indissoluble, and the constitution to warrant coercion of States or the people of States into subjection to the national government. Thus a recent biographer of Daniel Webster has gone so far as to say in regard to the argument of Mr. Webster in the Hayne debate:—"The weak places in his armor were historical in their nature When the constitution was adopted by the votes of the States in popular conventions, it is safe to say that there was not a man in the country from Washington and Hamilton on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, and from which

* See, again, Prof. Johnston's article, *ut supra*.

each and every State had the right peaceably to withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised."* Mr. Bryce's position is much milder, not to say more nearly tenable, than Mr. Lodge's. He says: "Technically, the seceding States had an arguable case; and if the point had been one to be decided on the construction of the constitution as a court decides on the construction of a commercial contract, they were possibly entitled to judgment." (vol. ii., p. 87.)

It is impossible here to enter at length on the discussion of these topics, least of all to attempt to array the historical evidence of the intentions of those who framed and those who adopted the constitution in 1787 and 1789. We have no hesitation in saying we regard the historical argument as conclusive in support of Mr. Webster's contention, and this opinion, on proper challenge, we should try to make good. Mr. Lodge is only so far right as this; the States, the people of the States, the leaders of 1787 and 1789, did regard the constitution and its system of government as an experiment. They had infinite solicitude as to its working and results. They knew it must depend for its success and permanence on the support of the people of the States who collectively or aggregately were the people of the United States. Doubtless no man in 1789 dreamed of forcing the new government on the States. Its ratification was made conditional on the assent, in the prescribed mode, of nine States. It could not of necessity be made to last after its repudiation by a physical majority of the States or of the people. It could not to-day; nor could any other government.

But historical evidence, as little as the terms of the constitution, shows that any State or men in 1789 conceded or asserted the right of "each and every State to peaceably withdraw." We know of no evidence warranting or even giving color for, such a statement. Our government was one of consent on the part of the governed, from the first; it is so now; it must remain so. But from 1789 to 1861, the people had given their consent and the government which was the result of their consent, was in 1861 clothed with the perfect right, as it had always been since 1789, to enforce its authority, by all the

* H. C. Lodge in *Daniel Webster*, Am. Statesmen Series, p. 178.

means granted by the constitution, over all the territory and people of which it had once acquired sovereignty as a government. The sufficiency of a majority to create and empower a government is a postulate in our system. Only a majority,—not all—of the people represented in the State conventions consented to or ratified the constitution. No State was forced to ratify, but when ratification by a majority of a State convention took place, all the people of that State were bound, and we know of no historical evidence impeaching this view. Secession was, therefore, not an “arguable” cause. It was revolution. Its argument was force; its right, the right only of revolution.

We deplore unsound views on this point, but if they exist, we are not sorry to see them put forward, especially by our own countrymen. Put in the form finally stated by Mr. Bryce, his question is no question to Americans: “When is a majority entitled to use force for the sake of retaining a minority in the same political body with itself?” (vol. ii., p. 515.) There can be but one answer,—“whenever the majority sees fit.” A majority of the people *is* the people. A majority may not use its power; but it is never, in our system, without the power to coerce the minority to obedience to the constitution, and laws passed pursuant to the constitution. If this be not so, our system is not worthy to be called a system of *government*.

Mr. Bryce's treatment of the whole topic of the State governments is copious, learned, and intelligent, and bristles with points which we should gladly touch upon, if space allowed.

The third general division of Mr. Bryce's book, the forces which operate the government,—the party system, and public opinion—is not the least important or interesting. The power of parties; their control of men, official and unofficial; the methods of our parties; the dangers and abuses now existing and those on the horizon; the portentous spoils system which is the outgrowth of parties; bribery and election frauds, on the one hand, so candidly, wisely, and fearlessly treated in Chapter LXV.; the power and value of public opinion; the analysis of its sources and forms; the effects on the government here, on the other hand, are some of the high topics of this division.

Our author everywhere regards public opinion in America as specially predominating and salutary. "In no country," he says, "is public opinion so powerful as in the United States; in no country can it be so well studied." (vol. iii., p. 11). "Toward this goal ('government by public opinion'), the Americans have marched with steady steps, unconsciously as well as consciously. No other people now stands so near it." (vol. iii., p. 22). "Towering over Presidents and State governors, over Congress and State legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, public opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it." (vol. iii., p. 25).

One chapter in Mr. Bryce's discussion of the phenomena of public opinion in America is entitled "The fatalism of the multitude." It is a chapter of much interest, the result of a curious and somewhat esoteric analysis or view of the facts and appearances which seem to have suggested it. Our author identifies it at first with "what is commonly called the Tyranny of the Majority," since it "disposes men to acquiesce in the rule of numbers." Remarking that "no race is naturally less disposed to a fatalistic view of life than is the Anglo-American," he still thinks that "even in this people the conditions of life and politics have bred a sentiment or tendency which seems best described by the name of fatalism." (vol. iii., p. 115). In immediate juxtaposition, he uses, apparently as equivalents of fatalism, the terms "self-reliance," "independence," "individualism," "personal consequence," and other like terms. We have read Mr. Bryce's ratiocination at this point with highly aroused interest and have interrogated ourself whether there were really anything in it, anything which answered to the thing described or to the description. We are not unwilling to be shown a new thing, albeit it has been for long under our eyes.

Mr. Bryce's fatalism is, so far as we can comprehend it, a new species of fatalism. As the conclusion of some philosophizing, he finds that the basis of our fatalism lies in the fact that "the belief in the right of the majority lies very near to the belief that the majority must be right." (p. 121). Now, if this be fatalism, are the Americans, characteristically or to any

appreciable degree, subject to it? We must answer that we think not, neither the more intelligent nor the less intelligent. The right of the majority to rule is cordially admitted and firmly held in the United States, but one is quite at a loss to find any evidence, any facts, which seem to support the view of Mr. Bryce. He presents none; his chapter is a pure tissue of ratiocination or speculation. But if we "descend from this top of speculation," what do we find? A fatalistic acquiescence in the judgment of the majority? A discouraged, reluctant, or weak assent of the defeated minority to the omniscience or even ordinary wisdom, of the majority? Our observation answers, No. We find deeply rooted in the same soil with the doctrine of the right of the majority to rule, the doctrine, firmly acted on ordinarily by all classes of our great electorate and people, that for all purposes except as a source of government, a working rule of administration, "one, with God, is a majority;" that at the audit of reason, of morals, of conscience, votes are, as Carlyle mourned that they were not, "*weighed, not counted.*" Nothing can exceed the confidence with which we reject Mr. Bryce's reflections at this point. The less intelligent Americans are not more subject to what our author calls fatalism, than the more intelligent. What is discontent or petty rebellion with the former, is disapproval and high resolve to make might mean right by the same rule of the majority, with the latter.

With Mr. Bryce's succeeding chapter on the "Tyranny of the Majority," we are in hearty agreement. With Tocqueville, whose searching words he quotes—" *La majorité trace un cercle formidable autour de la pensée. Au dedans de ces limites, l'écrivain est libre, mais malheur à lui s'il ose en sortir,*—he finds in this fact one of the chief stains on our history, and, we cannot help adding, he acquits us too easily of some degree of like tyranny at present. (Vol. iii., pp. 141, 142).

Though we must pause here, we devoutly wish every American might read and re-read Chapters XCV. and XCVI. on "The true faults of American Democracy," and "The Strength of American Democracy." Our praise here shall be ungrudging and unmixed. The entire chapters are faithful, just, tonic, in-

spiring, and may well close our examination of the contents of Mr. Bryce's book, already prolonged beyond the ordinary limits of a modern magazine Article.

Of the moral qualities and value of Mr. Bryce's work we have decided opinions which, after some criticisms and a few strictures, we are the more willing to set forth. We rate it for accuracy of information, for variety and fulness of research, for fairness and sobriety of opinions, and for unbiased conclusions, among the great books of the day. We should be sorry to think that our criticisms might lessen the estimate it has already won or which it might hereafter win and hold. But we will be candid ; in a purely literary or a purely forensic aspect, this book cannot rank at all with several other English books which discuss our constitution, government, and institutions. The even, clear, fine, texture both of style and thought is wanting. We name here Maine's "Popular Government," Bagehot's "English Constitution," and Dicey's "Law of the (English) Constitution." These writers are all great masters of thought and style. Indeed, it is our long-settled opinion that Sir Henry Maine's style, for the purposes to which he has put it, is absolutely unsurpassed anywhere. Mr. Bryce's book has almost no resemblance, in this great respect, to the works we have named. He has painted a vast canvas : in it he has set a great number of figures ; the measurements and proportions are generally accurate ; the separate items of the painting may be exactly drawn ; but we miss the precise effect of a great picture. It is necessarily too crowded for the best art, has too many figures or points of attention, lacks the subtle effects of light and shade, as well as the total impression, of a true masterpiece. We do not quarrel with the work ; we receive it with respect and gratitude ; it is the work of a noble-minded, true friend, one who has treated us here with high friendship, and in doing this work has well earned our praise and respect. But now, to understand what we mean by our qualifications of praise, let one take down one's "Democracy in America." Here is a great style, even as seen in translations. Here too, in spite of a recent critic's remark of its "simple philosophizing," is the eye of a philosopher and prophet, and the hand of an artist.

The work is imperishable ; for it has what Mr. Lowell tells us is the only warrant of permanence in literature—style,—that literary something to be felt rather than described, or which, in the fine phrase of Buffon, “is the man himself.” One passage from “Democracy in America,”* will best point this contrast and close our review :—

“On the continent of Europe, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, absolute monarchy triumphed over the ruins of the oligarchical and feudal liberties of the middle ages. Never were the notions of right more completely confounded than in the midst of the splendor and literature of Europe. . . . And at the very time, those principles, which were scorned or unknown by the nations of Europe, were proclaimed in the deserts of the New World, and were accepted as the future creed of a great people. The boldest theories of the human reason were put into practice by a community so humble that not a statesman condescended to attend to it ; and a legislation without precedent was produced off-hand by the imagination of the citizens. In the bosom of this absolute democracy, which had as yet brought forth neither generals, nor philosophers, nor authors, a man might stand up in the face of a free people and pronounce amid general acclamations the following fine definition of liberty :—

“Nor would I have you mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts to do what they list ; and this liberty is inconsistent with authority, impatient of all restraint ; by this liberty ‘*sumus omnes deteriores* ;’ ‘Tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority ; it is a liberty for that only which is just and good ; for this liberty, you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives, and whatever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority ; and the authority set over you will, in all the administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have the disposition to shake off the yoke and *lose their true liberty*, by their murmuring at the honor and power of authority.”†

From such conceptions of civil liberty and government, our nation chiefly took its rise and early strength. Its youth is past ;

* Reeves' Translation, p. 42.

† Gov. Winthrop, in Mather's *Magnalia Ch. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 18.

its years roll into the centuries; it attracts the attention of the nations and excites the hopes of patriots and philanthropists,—the generous and thoughtful of all lands;—each generation as it passes across the stage will make or mar its fortune and destiny; but our generation may well be grateful to Mr. Bryce for his impulse towards what is good, and his warning of what is evil, in our government, our institutions, and our people.

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

New York City.

ARTICLE III.—PROFESSOR JOHN F. WEIR ON "THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REVELATION."

The Way: The Nature and Means of Revelation. By JOHN F. WEIR, M.A., N.A., Dean of the Department of Fine Arts in Yale University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.

THIS volume is evidently the result of much earnest thought; it evinces great familiarity with the Bible to which it continually and reverentially appeals as of decisive authority; and it breathes throughout a devout and Christian spirit. It makes a profound impression on the reader of the truths that the most fundamental reality in the universe is Spirit; that God is very near to man, immanent and active in the material universe and in the soul of man and in the spiritual system to which man belongs; and that no man can realize his true end, his normal condition, and his real well-being without union with God. Thus its doctrine is at the extreme opposite of the Sadduceism of this day which acknowledges no reality except what is perceivable by the senses. And it reaches the conclusion that miracles, instead of implying a violation of law and being contrary to reason and so a burden oppressive to Christian faith, come from the sphere of deepest reality, the spiritual, and are accordant with the real constitution of the universe, with its most fundamental and comprehensive laws and with its highest ideal and end. Thus the volume aims to remove the practical unreality to many minds of God and the spiritual world, in which the seeds of skepticism find the soil for rank and prolific growth.

In seeking these practical results the author takes untenable positions. Positions resembling these have been held at different times in the history of the church. But the author of the volume before us has evidently worked them out afresh by his own thinking. The criticism of his work must be that all the truth and all the good practical results which it presents are better secured by other lines of thought more accordant with sound philosophy and the true meaning of the Scriptures.

The author conceives of man as body, soul, and spirit; the physical, the psychical, and the spiritual man. Man is born into a natural life, including both the physical and the psychical. By virtue of his psychical endowments he is capable of moral consciousness and judgment. But his spirit is divine, imparted in regeneration. "Through a natural birth man is but an existing soul, half created, not yet 'made alive;' he is organically prepared for life, but not really quickened until he receives 'the Spirit which is of God.' By this means a 'new man' is formed in the soul; it is not the old man made over, but a distinct creation ensues to which the old is 'conformed' or 'conjoined,' as its outward or natural personality. . . . It is not a human spirit that is quickened into life, but the one only Spirit is imparted to the soul, being individualized in man as it was in Christ; and this individualized or human Spirit is divine." (pp. 42, 43.) "For there is one only Spirit, which is God." Man was not created a spiritual being and is not so at birth; he is then "merely a psychic vessel, prepared for the reception of the Spirit when imparted by Christ; 'and they shall be filled like bowls.' . . . The soul is the human ego, the basis of the natural man; and the natural man is wholly an 'unsanctified vessel.'" (pp. 25, 49.) A somewhat similar view was held by Rothe, from which he inferred the doctrine of conditional immortality.

But if man is not endowed with the attributes of a personal spirit before regeneration, if he is only the natural man, but half-created, he cannot be a free-agent; he cannot be on probation; he has not the powers essential to know God, to choose between God and self as his supreme object. He is no more a factor in the new creation or new birth than he was in his first creation or his natural birth. The conception is also tinctured with Pantheism. The one and only Spirit that is God individualizes itself in a man; "and this individualized spirit in man is of one substance with the Father" (p. 256). The personal ego of the man is lost in God. This is also a common characteristic of mysticism. Even Mohammedism, which by its barrenness is a religion least of all fitted to nourish mysticism, has its mystics. A Sufi, after long meditation and self-abnegation, awakes in rapture in the thought that he himself is

God. The same tincture of pantheism appears in the mysticism of the Middle Ages.

But all which is true and of good practical influence in this doctrine is equally attained in the doctrine that a man is born with all the powers of a personal spirit potential in him; that these as he grows are developed in conscious action; that thus he is a free agent able to do right or to do wrong, to accept God's grace or to refuse it; that the Holy Spirit comes to him from the Father and the Son, and compasses him with the gracious influences of God's redeeming love; and that the man may accept the proffered grace, may open his heart to receive and bow his will to obey the heavenly influence. Thus he comes, not into identity of being with God, but into a moral and spiritual union by God's grace laying hold of him and his laying hold of God's grace in faith. Thus he comes into his normal condition of union with God, through which all his powers and susceptibilities are normally developed. Thus the distinct personality of the man is retained, yet God dwells and works in him and he is a worker together with God.

The threefold distinction of body, soul, and spirit is used to explain what Paul calls the spiritual body. As the psychical man is in the physical body, so the spirit is in the psychical body, using the psychical powers of reflection and action, as the psychical soul in life had used the senses and powers of the physical body. Hence the psychical body separated from the physical acquires a relative independence of space, so that the rapidity of its motion is analogous to the swiftness of thought. "For the natural man is a personal manifestation of the soul in a natural world, clothed in a physical body; but the spiritual man, whose destiny it is to become an angel of God, is a personal manifestation of the Spirit in a spiritual realm, clothed in a psychical body. The physical body is a key to the forces and substances of the natural world, while the psychical body bears a similar relation to the spiritual world. . . . At dissolution the former falls away from the latter and reveals a corresponding organism invisible to the physical eye, but of which the Scriptures abound in illustration; the 'opening of the eyes' of seers and prophets, enabling them to discern the forms of a spiritual realm, is the uncovering of the psychic senses of this interior organism in man." (pp. 48, 49.)

As to God's revelation of himself to man, as recorded in the Bible, the author recognizes it as having its basis in God's action upon and among men, the historical record of which begins with Abraham. But it is no part of the plan of this volume to discuss the history. This certainly would be a great omission, if the aim had been to discuss God's revelation of himself in its full significance. For God's historical action in the providential and moral government of the world, and pre-eminently in the redemption of men from sin, culminating in Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit and in the establishment of his kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, is God's revelation of himself in its primary and deepest significance.* But the author in treating of revelation confines himself to the supernatural disclosure of moral and spiritual truths which he regards as constituting distinctively the Word of God. For this he finds three modes of operation. The first is revelation: things seen and heard from a spiritual or heavenly realm; visions and the like direct communications. The second is inspiration: the communication of the divine word or teaching through the mind of a prophet. The third is illumination: this simply raises the human mind to apprehend as of itself things which may be expressed in terms of natural thought (p. 64). He thinks the tendency of the present time is to recognize the third of these, as the only means of prophetic operation acceptable to the natural understanding.

As a basis for accepting and interpreting the Bible as the revelation of God, he regards it necessary to presuppose a vivid sense of God's continuous action in the universe and of his continuous presence and action in human history and human life. And "the revelation has in view the gradual unfolding of a higher consciousness in man; it marks the passage of the soul from a carnal through a moral to a spiritual state, which is the 'kingdom of God.'" (p. 104.) In this way man's receptivity of spiritual communications is quickened and he becomes capable of receiving larger revelations of God. At the same time in the exercise of this higher spiritual sense he can see a deeper spiritual significance underlying the form of the revelation. Therefore "revelation being ever in advance of the human understanding, it is a matter of necessity that its truths should

be veiled in symbols having an outward or natural sense, as well as an inward or spiritual meaning." (p. 4.) "The faith of the multitude ever moves forward on a lower plane where truth is gauged by the natural understanding and is outwardly sustained by dogma." (p. 113.) Therefore "Allegory and parable are popular forms of expression by which the truths of revelation are tempered, as it were, to the natural understanding in the earlier stages of man's enlightenment. In them the spiritual intention lies hid until, in the fulness of time, it is brought to light in an awakened spiritual consciousness. . . . Thus under the figure of familiar things moral and spiritual truths, which constitute the word of God, lie hid." (p. 4.) All the history of Israel before Christ "may be regarded as one vast representative symbol of the moral redemption of the soul, preparatory to its being quickened by the Spirit imparted through Christ." (p. 104.) Thus the author admits the principle of allegoric interpretation which from Origen's time onward has occasionally made its appearance in the church. He seems to assume something like Swedenborg's doctrine of correspondences as underlying the true spiritual interpretation of the Bible. He fails to give the full significance of the fact that underlying all special communications of truth to individuals is God's revelation of himself in his grand course of historical action in the redemption of man from sin and the establishment of his kingdom, culminating in Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as recorded in the Bible. Through this action God was revealing himself, his own character, plan, and design, as a man reveals himself, his character and aims through his action. And in this action he was educating and developing man in preparation for the coming of Christ. Hence the significance of the revelation might not have been adequately understood at the time. But it was not of the nature of symbol or allegory, but of historical action, the fuller meaning of which is unfolded in the progress of the action, as the significance of an acorn is unfolded in the growth of the oak. In connection with this revelation of himself in historical action, he directly communicated truth through visions, through the inspiration of prophets, and the illumination of human minds, thus throwing light on the significance of his historical

action. And when in the fulness of time God comes in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, we have above all the revelation in Christ himself, the living word, and its elucidation in the teachings of Christ and of his apostles. The latter, under the teaching of the Spirit, declare further the significance of Christ's work, and expound the things which Christ refrained from teaching, when he said, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;" at the same time he promised that the Spirit, about to come, "shall glorify me; for he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you; he shall guide you into all the truth." And so far as in these teachings use has been made of symbols, types, allegories, fables, parables, or rhetorical figures, we interpret them according to the laws of interpretation. And in thus recognizing God's historical action culminating in Christ and the Holy Spirit whom he sends, the reality of the spiritual world, of its action on us and our action in it is more present to us and more clearly revealed than in any allegorical interpretation.

As to visions, the author regards them as the mere opening of the psychic eye to see the spiritual reality always present though unseen. Thus he explains the transfiguration of Christ. "The revelation was not a miraculous disturbance of the established order of things, but simply an uncovering of that which is hidden from the outward eye, revealing the truth as it really is in all its divine fulness." (p. 208). "When it is once clearly understood that these manifestations are a revelation and not a special miracle, it will be perceived that all things in heaven and earth are simply brought to light by Christ." (p. 212.)

Because the psychical in man is not the Spirit, but a power common to all men, the exercise of psychic vision and powers do not prove that the person is actuated by the Spirit or is declaring a spiritual revelation. There may be false prophets. Hence the apostolic exhortation was necessary, Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God. And on his journey to Jerusalem, Paul, under clearer teaching of the Spirit, disregarded the prophecies of the disciples at Tyre, of the four daughters of Philip, and of Agabus, warning him not to go to Jerusalem. From the same point of view the author explains the demoniacal possessions.

In respect to miracles he says: "The Master set no limit to the will-power when rooted and grounded in faith; and it may yet be discerned that miracles, so termed, are the natural efforts of a will united to the divine; not a special endowment of power, but the common heritage of man, if he will but believe." (p. 239.) "To discern in the revelation of Christ, not a special or miraculous dispensation, but an orderly bringing to light of eternal truth, common alike to all who follow in his footsteps, will explain the meaning of his words: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, he who believeth on me, the works which I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father.'" (p. 407.) As to the distinction of psychical manifestations from spiritual, the author says: "By regarding psychical manifestations as spiritual, man has often confounded preternatural things with heavenly, and it is from this confusion of mind that superstitions spring forth. But the day is not distant when the distinction between soul and spirit will yet be more clearly drawn with the progress of knowledge, and to the great gain of the spiritual consciousness. Those prevalent vague ideas which regard the world of spirits as an unknowable, formless void, without organic connection with the earthly state, will then give place to true conceptions based on the verified concrete evidence of scripture; and the things which were true for the prophet will then be recognized as substantial realities for all time, though transcending the scope of a philosophy which does not rise above the data supplied by the physical senses." (pp. 93, 94.)

In the closing chapters the principles set forth in the book are applied to determine our conceptions of the risen and glorified Christ and of the Holy Ghost.

SAMUEL HARRIS.

ARTICLE IV.—IN MEMORIAM: REV. DAVID TRUMBULL, D.D., OF VALPARAISO, CHILI.

ON the first day of last February, there died in Valparaiso, the principal port of the Republic of Chili on the Pacific Ocean, a graduate of Yale who was known personally to many of the older readers of this Review; and whose name, though he went out many years ago from his *alma mater*, has never ceased to be remembered here with an affectionate interest. It is very gratifying to those who knew him in his college days to learn that his death called out in that distant city a demonstration of popular respect which is not common anywhere; but which, among an exclusively Spanish-speaking people, is certainly something extremely unusual.

The Rev. David Trumbull, D.D., of whom we speak, was the great-grandson of Jonathan Trumbull, the patriotic Governor of Connecticut through all the years of the Revolutionary War, to whom Washington so often turned in the days of deepest darkness and trouble for counsel and assistance, and of whom he was in the habit of speaking in the spirit of warm affection as "Brother Jonathan." It is known to all how that name became historic—being caught up at once by the popular enthusiasm and transferred to the fatherland itself. Going back still further in the genealogy of David Trumbull—which is rich with the names of others who have been distinguished in all the walks of life—it may be mentioned that his family was originally of the "Mayflower" stock. His first American ancestors were John Alden and that "Puritan maiden, Priscilla," who have been made immortal in American literature by Mr. Longfellow. A descent from an honorable ancestry may properly be mentioned only when the characteristics and principles, which made the ancestors themselves illustrious, are worthily maintained and exemplified by those who are descended from them. David Trumbull was not only of the "Mayflower" stock but he was a man of the "Mayflower" stamp; and, after more than two centuries have passed, he has reflected additional

honor upon the memory of those of his progenitors who helped to lay the first foundations of New England.

The parents of David Trumbull had intended him for a mercantile career; so, on arriving at a suitable age, a position was secured for him in New York. But it was not long before his thoughts were directed to a very different kind of life. He decided to devote himself to the work of the Christian ministry. Accordingly, after pursuing the proper studies, he came to New Haven, and entered the class which graduated in 1842. While here, the connection of his family with that of the elder Professor Benjamin Silliman gave him exceptional opportunities for making the best use of the advantages offered by the college. We are not in possession of the materials which will enable us to follow with any particularity the details of his student-life; yet we cannot refrain from alluding to what we ourselves remember of the impression that he made upon those who came in contact with him. In all that he said or did there was displayed a certain nobility of character which was the more attractive as it seemed so natural to him. He had a rich vein of humor; and we will add—as it seems to have been a characteristic that was often made a subject of remark wherever he went during all his life—his face wore a peculiarly joyous expression, which was quite remarkable, and gave an additional charm to the genial smile with which he always greeted those to whom he spoke. Yet the impression which he gave to all was that of a man of marked independence of character, and no one could even then have doubted that he possessed, and would retain through life, the full courage of his convictions.

We do not propose to attempt any minute analysis of his character. Our object is rather to show, if possible, what kind of man he was when he was prepared for his life work, after his mind had been expanded and strengthened by the years devoted to study and mental discipline. Fortunately a little "memorial," which lies before us, which was printed in Valparaiso just after his death by his friends in that city, enables us to do what we wish. In this "memorial," we find an extract from a journal which he kept in those early years of his life, which presents the man as he was. He had been invited by the "Foreign Evangelical Society" to go to Valparaiso to

preach to the English and American merchants, sailors, and other English-speaking people who were gathered there for commercial purposes. In the near prospect of entering upon this field of labor, he made a new and serious dedication of himself to the service of God ; and, as he says, in order "that he might be able to keep it more in mind" he "wrote down with his pen" the engagement into which he entered, together with a prayer to God, "that strength might be given him to keep it." This paper is one which deserves careful reading. In it he says : "My God, I will begin a new life. . . . I will aim to please Thee every day forward. . . . I will set out not for a partial but for an entire obedience, to love Thee with all my heart, and my neighbor as myself. . . . In my public life as a minister of the Gospel, I will study Thy word, and all truth where it can be found, in candor, with prayer ; and will apply myself to find out suitable language, figures, and thoughts, that others may be taught by my efforts. . . . Thou art my Maker, my Owner, my Redeemer, and Purifier. I own the right, and will aim to feel that I am in no way my own. I devote myself, tongue, hands, head, affections, imagination, and memory, to Thy service. But what is all this? Only bringing again what I received from Thee, and have misused, abused, and corrupted. The heart I offer Thee I have injured, and have now need to ask Thee to repair the harm I have done myself. Accept me then with all my powers, not as a gift, but as a *favor to myself*. Fit me to serve Thee, and then make use of me—any way Thou shalt please. Use me to live and work, or to lie down and die—I put myself at Thy disposal. Do just Thy pleasure.

(Signed,)

DAVID TRUMBULL.

On reading this paper, we think our readers will be interested to learn how the young man, who at the beginning of his career put his name with all deliberation and seriousness to this dedication of himself, succeeded in carrying out in his life the noble purpose with which he began his work. It is to be remembered that a high ideal is not so uncommon a thing among educated young men who have had the advantage of good birth. A generous enthusiasm for what is regarded to be

the noblest possible career is natural to them, and often seems the more attractive for the very reason that it must lead to a life of the most complete self-sacrifice. A young man who feels no glow of feeling as he contemplates such a career, who is without generous impulses, who thinks and cares only for himself and his own personal comfort, is of all men to be pitied. It more usually happens that men set out with ideals of the most lofty description; and then, after a longer or shorter interval, are drawn aside, and fail to carry them out. With the remembrance of what so often happens, we will follow the young missionary whose early life we have sketched.

When David Trumbull arrived in Valparaiso, in 1845, the Chilians were still suffering from the effects of the long misgovernment of Spain. In 1810, the Revolution had begun which resulted, after many years of fighting, in their practical independence in 1818. But the supreme power had been only transferred from Spanish viceroys to a succession of native dictators, who displaced each other in more or less rapid succession, as popular tumults were stirred up by rival aspirants for the presidency. It was not till 1828 that a Constitution was adopted. This proving unsatisfactory, a Convention was called in 1831 for its revision, and the result was the present Constitution, which was promulgated May 25th, 1833. But even this did not entirely put an end to forcible attempts to change the government. As late as 1851, there was a formidable insurrection which came near being successful. Yet, on the whole, at the time that Mr. Trumbull arrived in the country, Chili had suffered less from revolutionary violence than any other of the South American States. Its future prospects were more hopeful. As a people, too, the Chilians were naturally more enterprising than any others on that continent, though they had as yet enjoyed little opportunity to give proof of it. The government was really to a great extent under the control of the ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic Church, who clung to the ideas and the methods which had been derived from Spain, and which had come down from the Middle Ages. Little effort had been made to develop the resources of the country. Education, except for those destined for the learned professions, was neglected; and the people though gay, social,

hospitable, and generous, were marked by all the religious intolerance and indolence of their Spanish ancestry.

The young New Englander who had come to labor in a land where the institutions and popular habits were so different from anything of which he had before had experience, showed his wisdom by the line of conduct that he at once marked out for himself. He had cast in his lot among a people of another race, proverbial for their pride of birth; for their strong attachment to an exclusive religious faith; for their readiness to take offense at even imaginary slights; for the suspicious jealousy with which they regarded strangers, and above all strangers who might be supposed to be seeking to interfere with their established usages. Even the prevailing style of speech, with its high sounding exaggerations, was of such a character as likely to mislead and perplex one accustomed to the simplicity and directness of Anglo-Saxon forms of expression, to a simple adherence to facts, and to saying exactly what he meant. We have heard that Mr. Trumbull wrote at the time to his friends, in his characteristic playful manner, as the result of his first impressions, that no where on earth could there be more need of the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. The Society which had commissioned him had hoped that he would be able to devote some of his time to proselyting labors among the Roman Catholics. But he abstained entirely from anything of the kind. He devoted himself strictly and with all earnestness to the special work of laboring among the English-speaking population of the city; and although the popular suspicions were at once aroused, and the very presence of a Protestant clergyman was considered objectionable, yet he was not actually interfered with, or forbidden to go on with his work. His life, however, was repeatedly threatened, but he pursued his task without a moment's hesitation. His first religious services were conducted in an upper room of a private house. In time, his work had prospered to such an extent that he was able to lay the foundations of a small chapel; but as the walls rose, the popular displeasure was so great that the authorities directed him to surround the building with a high fence, that it might be screened from public view. But, at last, as the result of his labors, he was successful in completely

disarming the prejudices of the people ; and, before he died, a large and commodious church had been built at a cost exceeding \$70,000. A native Chilian writer, in *El Herald*, Feb. 2, says : "Rev. Dr. Trumbull arrived among us at the time of our first awaking as a free people ; and he had to contend against the preconceived ideas of a people who were unwilling to recognize the excellence of any but a single religious system, accepted only from the ministers of the State religion. Whoever separated himself from the official religion, and did not address God in temples consecrated by the hand of the Archbishop, was denied even the necessities of life. The appearance of Dr. Trumbull among us was considered to be an offence. But far from being intimidated, he began his work quietly, patiently, constantly, and laboriously. He continued it with great perseverance and unquestioned ability. To it he dedicated all his time ; beginning by the example of his upright and spotless life, upholding it in the home and at the side of the grave, in the church and in the school, in the street and in the press, with the constancy of dropping water and the self-consecration of an apostle. The fruit of his labor was later on incorporated in successive civil, social, and religious reforms."

It was not long before Mr. Trumbull perceived that an opportunity was offered for the establishment of a school for girls. His object, as he declared it to be, was the education of those who were to be the mothers of the next generation of Chilians. The school was at once a success, and was attended by the daughters of the most influential people in the city. It was not long, however, before complaints were made, and a committee was appointed to examine into his methods. But the members of this committee were so impressed by what they saw, that in their report they highly commended what they had seen. The work which was thus begun so successfully, he followed up throughout his life by advocating the cause of the general education of the people as one of the great needs of the country. More than one free school owes its existence to his own personal labors, and now, everywhere in Chili, schools have been established and modern methods of education have been adopted. No other State in South America possesses so effective an educational system. There are already more than

five hundred government schools, besides municipal, private, and monastic schools, with an aggregate of 40,000 pupils. A strong effort is making to extend these privileges to all classes. There are also two normal schools—one for men and the other for women. There is a University at Santiago, instruction in which is free. There is also a naval academy and a military academy.

Another means of exercising a beneficial influence that Mr. Trumbull resorted to was the use of the press. He founded and conducted newspapers in English and Spanish, that valuable reading might be furnished, and that he might be able to act directly through their columns upon the public mind, by the discussion of the questions of the day. On one occasion he entered into a public argument with one of the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church ; and he conducted it in a manner so able, and at the same time so respectful, and so free from all that could be considered objectionable, that he not only silenced his opponent, but received the congratulations of the leading men of the country.

It was not long before he began to circulate copies of the Scriptures ; and, in 1861, he founded the Valparaiso Bible Society. At the time of his death, the Society had circulated 60,000 copies of the Bible, and more than double that number of other religious books. His liberality and non-partisan spirit were shown by his readiness to coöperate with the Roman Catholics. On learning that one of the prelates of their church was distributing a translation of the New Testament that was approved by the Archbishop, he joined hands with him, and solicited subscriptions to print an edition of that version for general circulation among the Spanish speaking population.

The course which Dr. Trumbull had pursued had been so prudent from the time that he had arrived in the country that at last it began to be understood what manner of man he was. The interest which he took in all that pertained to the material and moral advancement of the country was recognized. The suspicion with which he had at first been regarded was broken down completely. A native writer says : "Though in the early days of his active and successful proclamation of the Gospel, veritable tempests of envy and hatred were raised, yet the per-

sonality of Dr. Trumbull was such that little by little it commanded the attention of all such as were watching the outcome of his toil ; and, as time went on, the whole country recognized the claims of his talents and his virtues." Another native writer says that he had gained such general respect in Valparaiso, that "a prestige" began to surround him. In times of difficulty and trouble the municipal authorities hastened to avail themselves of his services. He was asked to take part in the effort to raise funds for the building of a free hospital ; and his assistance was sought by the various charitable societies. When the cholera visited Valparaiso he was one of the first that the Governor called upon to organize a relief committee ; and, to the work of caring for the sick and dying, he gave freely his time, his sympathies, and his funds, and coöperated in every way, and in the spirit of the utmost harmony, with the official head of the Roman Catholic Church. A native Chilian writer in *La Patria*, Feb. 3d, says : "During those days of anxiety, Valparaiso saw Dr. Trumbull in all parts of the city where the scourge reaped its largest harvest, offering to all words of comfort and of cheer ; while in meetings of the commission, his persuasive and yet authoritative words suggested more than one useful measure which served most materially to lesson the evils of the epidemic."

We come now to another part of the work of Dr. Trumbull, which may perhaps be said to have been, in some respects, more important than anything of which we have spoken. Before his death, as the result in great measure of what he did, there was brought about in Chili what was really a revolution in public opinion on several subjects which vitally affected the interests of the people. The extent and the value of the services to which we refer can never be accurately estimated ; but they led to a number of important changes in the laws of the country, and further changes are expected yet to follow. To a great extent, what he did was by means of the personal influence which he was able to exert with the leaders of the Liberal party. After these men had learned his ability, and become convinced of the unselfishness and sincerity of his character, he gained such a hold on them by his genial manners and rare powers of conversation, that we are assured they "fre-

quently sought his counsels in public affairs," and "his wise suggestions with regard to them determined the policy of the State." But all this was only after years of unremitting labor in the field which he considered peculiarly his own.

We have already said that when Dr. Trumbull reached Valparaiso, although Chili was a republic, the government was administered to a great extent in accordance with the traditions of Spain. The powers lodged in the hands of the president were so great that he was a veritable autocrat. The whole government, also, in all its departments, was under the complete control of that party among the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics who were thoroughly ultramontane in their views. It could hardly be said that there was at that time any Liberal party in Chili. Those who cherished liberal sentiments did not dare to avow them, but contented themselves with expressing their views in secret; or—after the brotherhood of Free Masons had been introduced into the country—in the lodges which many of the most active among them joined, and through which they sought to do what they could to act upon public sentiment.

The position in which Dr. Trumbull found himself, when he first came to Valparaiso, we have also described. The Constitution expressly interdicted all worship except that which was authorized by the State Church. He was told, however, that his religious services would be unmolested, if they were only of such a character as not to attract public attention. Under these circumstances, when his very residence in Valparaiso was as it were on sufferance, it would have been highly injudicious for him to have made any criticism of the laws or any suggestion of a change in the policy of the government.

But there were certain things which were so bad that he could not but have his attention turned to them. The laws respecting marriage were of such a character as to have a very disastrous effect upon the public morals. The control of marriage was one of the chief means by which the Roman Catholic church maintained its hold over the people. The requirements of the law, also, with regard to the celebration of marriage were very numerous and vexatious, and the fees demanded for performing the ceremony were enormous.

Marriage was thus in reality discouraged; and it is said that more than one-third of the births in Chili were illegitimate. The law also with regard to burial was equally exacting and onerous; and seemed to be arranged for putting money into the pockets of the priests. Dr. Trumbull early began to seek opportunities to awaken public sentiment with regard to the disastrous effects of these marriage and burial laws. Cautiously, in his English paper, he pointed out the evils. Year after year, in conversation with all with whom he came in contact, he called attention to the way that these laws were affecting the morals of the people. In time his efforts attracted the attention of the members of the Liberal party which had at last begun to organize itself. On coming to Valparaiso, Dr. Trumbull, in order that he might the more easily gain access to the people among whom he was laboring, had accepted an invitation to become a member of the Masonic lodge which was established among the English-speaking residents of Valparaiso, and it is understood that in time he rose in it to high office. His standing as a Mason, however, now led to his making the acquaintance of the leaders of the Liberal party in the affiliated Chilian lodges. But for years little was done. In fact, twenty-five years passed before anything was possible.

At last the opportunity came. In 1870, Don Federico Errazuriz was elected to the presidency as a Conservative. During his term of office, a distinguished officer of the army committed suicide, and his remains were accordingly refused a burial in consecrated ground. President Errazuriz insisted that the burial should proceed, and the ecclesiastics, though they made all the opposition in their power, were forced to yield. But a crisis was now brought about. A controversy arose which speedily led to a division in the Conservative party. President Errazuriz and the more intelligent members of the Conservatives joined the Liberals, and a new party was formed, one of whose first objects was to effect a change in these burial and marriage laws. Here was the opportunity of Dr. Trumbull; and his discussion of the whole subject, now in the Spanish as well as in the English newspapers, is acknowledged to have been masterly and to have done much to bring about their repeal.

This success led to an attempt to secure a revision of the

national constitution of such a kind that perfect freedom of worship would be allowed in Chili, and entire religious equality for all before the law be acquired. To this effort to obtain full religious liberty, Dr. Trumbull contributed efficient assistance. At the time of his death, the result which had been sought had not yet been attained, but the bill in Congress for the revision of the Constitution had successfully passed through all the preliminary stages. It had been twice approved by Congress, according to the requirements of the Constitution, and though the bill failed the third time it was taken up, it was only because, at the time of the vote, there was not a quorum present. Its friends are confident that the bill will ultimately pass. It is impossible to say how much Dr. Trumbull contributed to this particular change in public opinion; but the statement is made in the newspaper, *El Herald*, for Feb. 2d, that "it was he who brought about this revolution."

The importance of what had thus been accomplished by Dr. Trumbull, in all these respects, is not to be measured by its value to the people of Chili. The influence of his religious work was felt all along the Pacific coast of South America. To that whole coast, he was a veritable Apostle. Even the people of the Islands of the Pacific felt their indebtedness to him, and gratefully acknowledged their obligations. Above all, the change in the public sentiment in Chili, in favor of religious liberty, which to so great an extent was due to his persistent efforts, is slowly producing its effects in all the States on the Pacific side of the South American continent, and the day is fast coming when full religious freedom will become a part of the organic law of every one of them.

A few years ago, Dr. Trumbull found that his interests had become so identified with those of the people among whom he had so long lived, that he resolved to make application to be received as a naturalized citizen of Chili. To secure this privilege is no easy thing. The statesmen of that country have shown a practical wisdom on the subject of admitting foreigners to the rights of citizenship in their republic which might well be imitated by us in this country. It is considered to be a matter of such consequence, that great caution is shown, and the formalities with which the obtaining of the privilege is

hedged about make it a somewhat difficult matter to accomplish. But when Dr. Trumbull applied for papers of naturalization, the proof which was given of the general affection and respect with which he was regarded, must have been very gratifying to him. According to the newspaper, *El Mercurio*: "On hearing his petition, one of the municipal officers, in manifestation of the wishes of all, asked that a note might be entered, in the record, of the pleasure with which as a body they received Dr. Trumbull's application; and he asked that without the legal formality of placing it on the table, it should be at once forwarded to the President of the Republic. The motion was unanimously sustained." This act of Dr. Trumbull, as it proved, served to strengthen the feeling of affection with which his Chilian friends had long regarded him. It was recognized by them as a very touching and graceful proof of his love for Chili. One of them said: "Valparaiso had before felt honored in claiming him as the most worthy and best known of her foreign residents," but now they should regard him as "a fellow countryman and a true brother."

The naturalization of Dr. Trumbull was followed at no long interval by his death, when the demonstration that was made, among all classes of the population of Valparaiso, of the love and respect in which this Protestant clergyman of foreign birth was held, was something that may well create surprise. Perhaps never among any Spanish-speaking people, in either hemisphere, has an Anglo-Saxon, or a Protestant, received such a testimonial of the popular respect. In addition to several addresses which were made at his funeral, an oration was pronounced by Don Francisco Pinto, a distinguished citizen of Valparaiso, son of an ex-president of the Republic, in which he said that he considered Dr. Trumbull "to have been one of those men who appear to be specially sent by heaven into this world to do good, to heal many wounds, and to assuage much suffering; to be the best and most discreet friend in the hours of misfortune, and the kindest of companions in the days of happiness." He added that "in the streets of the city every body uncovered before him," and he closed by speaking of the "eminent services" that he had rendered to the State, and declared that "Chili, grateful for the many services that he had

rendered to her people, will watch over his tour with loving kindness and deep veneration."

While this brief outline of some of the important results accomplished by Dr. Trumbull has been passing in review before us, we have been reminded of what is so often said of late, that the days have gone by when men are to be found who are ready to give themselves to a life of unselfish devotion to the work of seeking to elevate and improve their generation. Even within the past week, we have read, in the columns of one of the most influential daily newspapers in the country, a well meaning editorial, deploring the fact—that is indeed too true—that the present times are characterized by the haste to get rich, but adding, that there is no longer to be found that spirit of self-sacrifice which characterized a former generation. All such statements are founded on a very superficial observation of the facts. Notwithstanding all that is said, we believe that there never has been a time when there have been so many men who have given an example of high principle, as in this last half of the present century. Of course there is no question that there are also too many examples of self-seeking and self-indulgence. Too many, also, are striving to satisfy their consciences, and to apologize for their own want of interest in a life of active benevolence, by saying that all men are naturally selfish, forgetting that the great object of Christianity is to inspire all with higher aims. But the proof is every day accumulating, in the biographies of those who have lived during the last half of the present century, that there never has been an age more prolific of those who have led lives of self-sacrifice in behalf of some noble object. We are also assured by those who ought to know that there never before were more young men, in all our schools for the higher education, who are proposing to themselves the highest ideals, even though they can be accomplished only by self-sacrifice. While there are those whose ambition is only to pile up wealth, and who can find satisfaction only in surrounding themselves with all that wealth can give, who find their only stimulus to work in fine houses and lands, in fine equipages, and in the glitter of silver, and gold, and jewels, there are others who find a higher satisfaction and a stronger stimulus in devotion to Right and

Duty, and in working for the good of others. To the long list of these men who have passed away within a few years we add the name of one who was no whit less devoted than they. What Livingstone did for Africa; what "Chinese Gordon" did for the Soudan, what it was hoped that Keith-Falconer might do for the Mohammedan world, that was done for South America by David Trumbull.

WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY.

UNIVERSITY TOPICS.

CLASSICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF YALE
COLLEGE.

TUESDAY, April 9.—Professor Goodell presented a paper on Recent Excavations at Mycenæ. In connection with an enlarged sketch map of the acropolis of Mycenæ, a general description of the locality was given, with a somewhat detailed account of the pre-Homeric royal dwelling brought to light by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1886-7. The palace, though not so well preserved, closely resembled, in general arrangement and mode of construction, that of Tiryns described at length in the work of Schliemann and Doerpfeld. Above this palace were found, first, a stratum of poorer house-walls, built after the destruction of the palace, and secondly, crowning the summit of the acropolis, the foundations of a Doric temple, itself probably older than 500 B. C. The arrangement and depth of these two upper strata furnished the clearest evidence of the antiquity of the structure first described. Two inscriptions of the second century B. C., portions of decrees of the *village* of Mycenæ, not only prove the existence of a settlement here at that time (contrary to the statements of Strabo and Pausanias, who represent the site as having remained uninhabited after 468 B. C.), but give us a glimpse of the village organization, with its popular assembly, various magistrates, and religious festivals. Doubtless the settlement was dependent on Argos, but must have possessed a considerable degree of self-government. Finally a brief account was given of the discovery of a number of pre-historic tombs in the slopes of the hills about Mycenæ. These consist of one or two rock-cut chambers, approached by a *dromos* like that leading to the so-called treasury of Atreus. In some instances these passages are over 20 meters long and two or more meters wide; the chambers are mostly square, with an area of 35 to 40 square meters. They were evidently family vaults, containing each several bodies, with a great number of articles of use and ornament, many of which are enriched with representations of animals and human figures, thus furnishing a mass of valuable material which cannot but yield considerable information with regard to the pre-Homeric inhabitants of the land.

YALE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN.

No. 89.—WEEK ENDING MAY 18, 1889.

Sunday, May 12.—*Public Worship*—Battell Chapel, 10.30 A. M. Rev. Edwin P. Parker, D. D., of Hartford. *Anniversary Sermon* before the graduating class of the Divinity School—Rev. Dr. Parker, Center Church, 7.30 P. M.

Tuesday, May 14.—*Mathematical Club*.—Professor Newton, on the formation of a table of mortality; with a table formed from the recent General Catalogue of the Divinity School and Mr. Dexter's Yale Biographies. Sloane Laboratory, 7.30 P. M.

Wednesday, May 15.—Last Day of filing applications for Graduate Fellowships and Scholarships. *Yale Divinity School Anniversary*—Addresses by members of the Graduating Class. Battell Chapel, 10 A. M. *Yale Divinity School Anniversary*—Alumni Meeting and Discussion on the Free Pew System. Marquand Chapel, 2.30 P. M. *Yale Assembly*—Debate on Local Option. Linonia Hall, 7.30 P. M.

Friday, May 17.—*College Faculty Meeting*—7 Treasury Building, 4 P. M. *Berkeley Association* (Evening Prayer)—Room 89, Dwight Hall, 6.45 P. M. *The Feudal System and the Comitatus of Tacitus*—(Lecture to the Sophomore Class)—Mr. George. 194 Old Chapel, 7 P. M.

Anniversary of the Divinity School, May 15.—Addresses will be delivered by members of the Graduating Class in the Battell Chapel, beginning at 10 A. M. In the afternoon there will be a meeting of the Alumni and friends of the school in the Marquand Chapel, beginning at half past 2 o'clock, and including a Discussion of the Free Pew System, to be opened by the Rev. C. A. Dickinson, of Boston, and the Rev. J. A. Biddle, of South Norwalk. In the evening, at 6 o'clock, there will be a social reunion in the rooms of East Divinity Hall.

Scott Prize in German—Yale College.—Seniors who desire to compete for the Scott Prize in German must report to Mr. Goodrich on or before Wednesday, May 15.

Winthrop Prize Examination—Yale College.—Members of the Junior Class who wish to compete for the Winthrop Prizes, are requested to report their names to Mr. Dexter, on or before Friday, May 17.

Woolsey Scholarship Examination—Yale College.—Members of the Freshman Class who desire to compete for the Woolsey Scholarship, are requested to report their names to Professor Goodell, on or before Friday, May 17.

Graduate Fellowships and Scholarships.—Members of the Senior Class in College, or recent graduates in Arts, who wish to be considered as candidates for any Graduate Fellowships or Scholarships which may fall vacant at Commencement, 1889, are requested to communicate with Mr. Dexter before May 15.

College Compositions.—The last Sophomore Compositions for the term will be due on Saturday, June 1, at No. 2 Treasury Building. The prizes for the year will be awarded mainly according to the merits of these essays. Any subjects may be chosen except those assigned for previous compositions.

SPEECH OF HON. DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN AT
THE BROOKLYN YALE ALUMNI DINNER,
MAY 2, 1889.

Ex-Gov. Chamberlain responded to the toast "The Yale Alumni of New York," as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Brooklyn Yale Alumni:

Though I am in the habit of saying and feeling that to make a speech—an after-dinner speech—is to pay a very high price for one's dinner, still I should certainly be very churlish if I did not say to you that it is a real pleasure to me to meet the Brooklyn Yale men on this occasion. If I bring you no adequate spoken word, I bring you a warm Yale heart, and I bring you my thanks for the honor and pleasure of our meeting.

It is possible that New York Yale men, surrounded by the ever-increasing din of commerce and business, the hurrying tides of life and struggle which there go on, may agree with one of our enthusiastic Yale men of New York, who recently declared,—that the Yale spirit was all summed up in the one word "Go!"—but I venture to hope that somehow, here in Brooklyn, you have managed to retain some things of Yale and Yale influence and memories which are not quite comprehended in that magnetic word "Go!" I, for one, am disposed to amend our New York friend's word and say—"Think as you Go," or "Think before you Go." And the truest Yale man is, in my judgment, not the man who "*goes*" fastest or farthest, but the man who carries most weight of thought, of character, of scholarship; aye, most of the spirit and attainments of Woolsey and Porter and Dwight; and not the man merely who pushes hardest on Wall Street or in the race of mercantile or professional life in New York.

One other word spoken by my enthusiastic Yale friend to whom I have referred, gives me the text for a remark. He said Yale oratory too was obedient to the talismanic word "Go;"—that it meant no longer grave and eloquent discourse nor learned and witty discourse; it meant "the lively mingling of anecdotes and jests with appropriate comments on passing events!" Well, he

was right evidently as to the fact. Yale oratory, in New York at least, does consist now chiefly of "quips and cranks and wanton wiles" of oratory. Understand me, I am not prepared to say this is not the very highest form of public speaking! What I would say is merely that it is a new idea, a modern idea of Yale oratory. And I will add that I love still the roll and cadence of true, lofty oratory. I love the ample sweep of view, the gorgeous panoramic march, of your own Storrs, the lofty diction and loftier tone, of Curtis, the keen blade, the perfect English, the always unselfish ideas, of Schurz.

These voices are, let me say, though not one of them appears in our triennial,—these men are true old-fashioned Yale men. They love learning, they cultivate letters, they follow ideals, they affect the companionship of truth, and they do not make oratory a jest, nor life a race for fame or fortune, nor bow to the modern Geslers who at every cross-roads demand our homage on penalty.

I do not think we often enough recall or value highly enough when we do, the simple fact of our great Yale companionship,—that we are all, the humblest and the greatest alike, members and equal sharers in the tie of great memories, great influences, and great hopes which are associated with our College and its life. Part of that glory, that honor, that priceless heritage of scholarship, of fame, of patriotism, which almost two centuries and a half,—nearly ten generations of the best of Americans,—have gathered and earned—is ours.

More and more, as the years go by, I am led to feel that the very best part of college life is its personal associations, its friendships, the identity which we feel with thousands of other men in all our States who have once walked the same paths we have walked, shared in the same life we have lived, known the same noble men and teachers we have known, learned the same lessons we have learned, not merely nor principally from books or lectures or recitations, but chiefly from men of the noblest aims, lives, and characters. There is no tie like it in American life. The tie of soldiership, the experience of camp and field, of common dangers and triumphs of arms, often bind men with strong bands to one another. Sympathies of party, of church, of profession, are powerful solvents to blend and fuse men into one body, but after all, I know of no tie at once so wide and strong and lasting as that of men whose youth was united in a great college.

Men who have never known this, perhaps observe and value it more than we who have it. I remember once to have talked with a man of New England, of Massachusetts, who had become eminent as a public man,—no mean orator,—a soldier once in high command—who might be said to have succeeded highly in life. He spoke of a meeting of Harvard men he had once attended and addressed. "I would have given," said he, "all I am or was or hoped to be in this world, for one hour, not of their learning or scholarship, but of their fellowship; to have been one, not *with* them, but *of* them." This he said with emotion, and he was right. I would lose all else that I gained, if anything, at Yale, sooner than the tie and impulse which brings us here to-night, which bids us to a feast of the soul. 'Tis the truest touch of nature I ever feel.

When Walter Scott was wandering, an invalid, limb and hand and brain overtaxed with work, in Southern France, you remember he tells us of meeting a countryman. The very accent of his native soil touched and cheered him. They had no common interests or tastes, but the poor sick poet and romancer loved to hear the voice of one who spoke the accent of his mother, whose talk, foreign almost in everything else, was still of dear old Scotland, and its dear old hills, and above all, its glorious old kirk; and he says that uninteresting as this man was in all else, he loved him because he was a Scotsman, and when others were wondering why he loved his society, Scott says he was repeating to himself, Burns' words :

"My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here;

"My heart's in the Highlands, a-chasing the deer;

"A-chasing the wild deer, and following the roe—

"My heart's in the Highlands, wherever I go."

And so it would be, would it not, with one of us, if alone and sick in foreign lands, we were to meet the humblest classmate of Yale?

I thank you, then, Mr. President, and I thank especially my good classmate here, Fred. Ward, for giving me this hour of true Yale fellowship to-night.

But what does Yale signify to us? For what does she stand? She stands to-day for all that is best and greatest in the past, and for all that is most vigorous and triumphant in the present, of American college life. Yes, she stands, for one thing, for victories,

unbroken and unparalleled, in the athletic fields of college life,—and I want to say a word of Yale athletics. They are not all of college life, but they are a noble, a valuable, an inspiring part,—and I trust they will so remain,—of *Yale* college life. The oar, the bat, the ball, the discipline of heart and muscle which they combine, ought to enlist our admiration and enthusiasm. I missed this, for the most part, as did most of my college generation, but I confess I lift my hat now not only to the great scholars of Yale,—not only to Dwight and Whitney and Fisher and Peck and Seymour, but to her athletes,—to Cook, to Camp, to Corbin, to Stagg, and to all who have won for us all the untarnished laurels of the championship in athletic sports, of the colleges of America. I read last winter with regret the remarks of Dr. Van Dyke at the Harvard dinner in censure and depreciation of modern college athletics. I have never happened to know a Yale athlete who was not a noble-hearted man; and if hereafter, as twenty-five years ago, patriotism should again call for volunteers and martyrs, these athletes, I fear, would outstrip Dr. Van Dyke even, in the heroism and power they would give to their country. The Robert Shaws leading forlorn hopes at future Fort Wagners, the Frank Bartletts marching their comrades to certain death at future craters of Petersburg,—the heroes and martyrs of new struggles for American “*Liberty and Union*,”—would, I suspect, come from the ranks of these glorious Yale boys of this generation, who have bent to the oar at New London, or have driven Harvard and Princeton in confusion on the fields of athletic struggle.

But I agree, of course, that athletics are not the whole, nor even the greater part, of college duty and life, but only an incident. One may be absolutely classical, if that be necessary, in defending athletics from such aspersions as I have referred to. *Mens sana, in corpore sano*, is good Latin as well as good sense and good morals. High athletics, one may reply, are not for the many but only the few. Well, high mathematics, high classics, high science, are only for the few. It is the example of high athletics that has given us, and is giving us, and will give us, our well-equipped gymnasiums, our most approved racing boats, and best developed base-ball; and all *these* are for the many.

A finer type of physical man is a distinct gain to humanity. I remember Mr. Beecher,—and I love to refer to him in Brooklyn,—was fond of saying—and it was ever true of him—that “the best

brains come from the heels as well as the head." He meant, of course, that a man of intellect with a strong body had his power—his power to move and guide men—redoubled in comparison with the valetudinarian.

Gentlemen, there is no way to produce good averages in anything, except by having a few who are greatly above the average we aim at. We observe this truth in all things. We rejoice for example, in some abnormal scholar—worth little to the world in a superficial view—less surely than an abnormal athlete. Why? Because we believe we must have abnormal scholarship in order to have normal. "The aorist was made for man," it is true, and "not man for the aorist," as Matthew Arnold so wittily said. We applaud the German who digs Greek roots or Hebrew, for a lifetime, and never writes a line, or speaks a word, or does a deed, other than this, that helps mankind. By the same rule, I honor Yale athletics.

But Yale athletes, it happens, by the record, are good scholars and good men too. The mud and dust of the arena, do not stick to *them*. Dr. Van Dyke deplores the hard-hitting, the brutality, as he calls it—of Yale athletics. I think Depew was right in remarking that when Princeton should win some athletic victories over Yale, the good Doctor would probably forget or overlook the brutality. But it is not brutality that wins Yale victories. It is pluck, patience, high resolve. Brutality is tabooed. If it ever occurs, it is only an incident,—no athlete approves it. As well might we say to our Princeton mentor that because theologians are sometimes the narrowest, most uncharitable, most partisan of men, we must abandon theology.

But, gentlemen, I did not mean to say so much on this matter ; but I confess I listen with impatience to current criticisms from some Doctors of Divinity and other excellent elderly ladies, of Yale athletic games. A great all-round Yale man of to-day ought to be, I say, with deliberation, a good athlete, and as long as Yale has great athletes, Yale will have a physically well-trained and well-developed body of students.

But Yale stands and must stand always for literary, intellectual, and moral training and discipline. I have no fear she will lose that, and I therefore rejoice at the new dispensation which adds to her old pre-eminence, the new. But, Mr. President, I should be sorry to seem for a moment to overrate this phase of college work and life. The true great aim of college and univer-

sity is to train, to discipline, for mental and moral work. We stand at the close of the series of observances which have fitly marked the end of our first century of national life. If there is one lesson we ought to have learned it is, to quote Lowell, that "Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary to better things. The measure of a nation's true success is the amount it has contributed to the thought, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation of mankind." From material standards, from sordid aims, from degraded practices which environ us, let Yale summon us by an irresistible call. Her quarter-millennial draws on. Let it find us true, as our fathers in Yale were true, to the higher life, to letters, to learning, to high thinking and plain living. Let her count up here in Brooklyn a host of those whom no modern plutocratic influences have warped from rectitude, whom no mercenary aims have swallowed up.

Mr. President, I do not often resort to anecdotes, but one occurs to me at this moment. A gentleman went once to attend a friend on the occasion of that friend's making a speech. After the occasion was ended, the friend inquired if he did not think the speech ended well. "Yes," was the reply, "but there was a time when I thought it *never would!*"

CURRENT LITERATURE.

SIR MONIER-WILLIAMS ON BUDDHISM.*—Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, has long been well known to the circle of those interested in such subjects, by his works on the history, philosophy, and literature of the Hindūs, and his ability to present these somewhat obscure and abstruse topics in a clear and attractive manner. It is therefore with no small degree of expectation that we turn to this last work, hoping to find some tangible and intelligible treatment of so complicated a system as Buddhism in its various developments. Very much has been written about this most interesting subject, but until now there has appeared in English no thorough and comprehensive history of the origin and general development of a religious and philosophic system which has at least a fair claim to a place among the great religions of the world. The book before us is an expansion of a course of six lectures delivered on the Duff foundation in Edinburgh in 1888. The six lectures have become eighteen, and although a great part of the matter was actually delivered, there is practically none of that repetition and padding which is almost unavoidably present in mere printed lectures. In general we may say of the book, that it is a most admirable compend of what people want to know about Buddhism, written in clear and concise style, and avoiding as far as possible all philosophical obscurities and technicalities. It is intended for the general educated reader, and no knowledge of Sanskrit, Pāli, or Hindū is necessary that one may understand it, though of course such knowledge is very helpful.

Of late the curious phenomenon has been observed, of large numbers of educated and intelligent people, in both England and America, suddenly becoming enthusiastic over the doctrine of the Buddha, comparing this doctrine with Christianity to the disparagement of the latter, and in general giving society the im-

* *Buddhism, in its Connexion with Brāhmanism and Hinduism, and in its Contrast with Christianity.* By SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.I.E. pp. 32 + 563. O. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1889.

pression that there was in the original teachings of the Hindū sage on efficacy in removing the evils of this life, a power towards right living, and on inspiration to virtue, which could be found nowhere else. For them, the "Light of Asia," has flashed out upon Western civilization with an illuminating power hitherto unequalled, and although the majority of men have as yet declined to bask in its rays, the devotees of the Buddha are in nowise discouraged. It would be tedious to repeat here all that they claim for their cult. Suffice it to say, that they would have us believe that all that is good in Christianity comes from Buddhism, and that in Nirvāṇa only can the soul find rest and peace. Now it must be said that in some of the first teachings of the Buddha, there are many wise and beneficent precepts, similar to those of the Bible, and that to him who sees only these, neglects all their later developments, avoids all careful investigation of their basis and logical results, and above all does not wish to recognize a personal God, they present some attractions. But when one comes to study the system of which they form a part, one finds at the very beginning that it is thoroughly and completely pessimistic,—more so than any other religion of the world. Unless a man is an absolute pessimist, and considers this life an unmixed evil, he can not logically accept Buddhism. The fundamental principle of the Buddha was that existence is only an evil, and that the great aim of each man should be to live in such a manner that this existence might be totally extinguished as soon as possible. It is hard to see where such ideas can find a lodgment now-a-days, unless it be in the mind of a confirmed dyspeptic or hypochondriac. To prevent any such foolish enthusiasm, nothing could be better than the information contained in this book, and we earnestly advise all unfortunate persons who feel in their breasts an uncontrollable longing for dissolution or absorption in Nirvāṇa, to wait until they can learn some of the characteristics of that for which they sigh. Moreover, Sir Monier-Williams does not write from the standpoint of prejudice, and the fact that he is a Christian does not influence him unfairly against what is truly good in other systems. A lifelong student is not apt to be a victim of prejudice in his specialty.

In a postscript to the Preface, Sir Monier discusses the various estimates of the probable number of Buddhists. It has been a widely prevalent notion that Buddhism had more adherents than any other religion, and the number has been put as high as 500

millions. Sir Monier shows that this error has arisen through the custom of calling many of the inhabitants of China Buddhists, who are in reality first of all Confucianists or Tāoists, but who "occasionally conform to Buddhistic practices." Prof. Legge, and Dr. Happer who has made a special study of Chinese statistics, estimate the number of real Buddhists in China at 20 millions and the whole number in Asia at 72½ millions. This is probably too low, and Sir Monier's conclusion is that there are of true Buddhists in Asia not less than 100 millions. The Chinese themselves ridicule the idea that they are as numerous as the Confucianists. It seems probable then that "Christianity with its 430-450 millions of adherents has now the numerical preponderance over all other religions." Next comes Confucianism, then Brāhmanism and Hindūism which are practically one, and then Buddhism. The idea of the great number of Buddhists must have arisen from the fact that Buddhism pure and simple attached itself in some of its manifestations to the other religions and often modified them very sensibly without causing them to lose their identity.

Another prevalent idea with regard to Buddhism is that it is making great progress in Asia and threatens to overrun the whole continent, whereas the fact is as Sir Monier points out, that it is "losing its vitality—gradually loosening its hold on the vast populations once loyal to its rule, and has already almost wholly disappeared from India proper, though dominating in Ceylon and Burma.

The general plan pursued in this book will be sufficiently indicated by the subjects treated in successive chapters. Among them are the following: The Buddha as a Personal Teacher, the Buddhist Law and Monkhood, the Philosophy and Morality of Buddhism, Its Changes and Disappearance from India, the Rise of Theistic and Polytheistic Buddhism, and at considerable length, the Development of the Ceremonies and Rituals which are the special features of Modern Buddhism.

There is a considerable current misapprehension to the effect that the teachings of the Buddha were diametrically opposed to those of Brāhmanism, and that the reformer introduced principles which could not in any way be harmonized with the existing religion of the country. Now, as has been shown in Sir Monier's other works, Brāhmanism was a development of the earlier Vedism, and from Brāhmanism came Hindūism, including its

three subdivisions, Çaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Çāktism. There is a plain course of development discernible in all this succession, and the first thing Sir Monier sets out to do in the present work, is to show how Buddhism as it developed, accommodated itself to the different phases of Brāhmanical development, "admitting the Hindū gods into its own creed, while Hindūism also received ideas from Buddhism." The fundamental philosophical difference between Brāhmanism and Buddhism is that the former is pantheistic, and the latter strictly speaking atheistic, but this philosophical distinction could not have a very great influence on the average Hindū. The object of the orthodox Brāhman was to obtain by bodily mortification and penance a sufficient store of merit to enable him to acquire supernatural power, and at death to be released from the "bondage of transmigration" and to be absorbed into the One Universal Spirit. The object of the Buddhist was by continued and wonderful contemplation and meditation to eliminate all desire for existence, and to obtain release from transmigration by the total extinction of all existence in Nirvāṇa, which to the ordinary mind is synonymous with annihilation. The real points of difference between Brāhmanism and Buddhism were that the Buddha "was a determined opponent of all Brāhmanical sacerdotalism and ceremonialism and of all theories about the supernatural character of the Vedas." "Being himself a Hindū, he never required his adherents to make a formal renunciation of Hindūism, as if they had been converted to an entirely new faith. Nor had the Buddha any idea of court- ing popularity as a champion of social equality and denouncer of all distinctions of rank and ancient traditions—a kind of Tribune of the people, whose mission was to protect them from the upper classes." The only sense in which he abolished caste was that he founded a sort of "universal monastic communism, affirming that the truest enlightenment was not confined to Brāhmans but open to all members of all castes." Its immediate popularity was due, probably, mostly to this idea of universal brotherhood, but the fact that after a time it lost its hold almost entirely in India, shows its real lack of vitality. The result of the most curious assimilating forces of this cult, is admirably stated on page 13, from which we quote. "Starting (i. e. Buddhism) from a very simple proposition which can only be described as an exaggerated truism,—the truism, I mean, that all life involves sorrow, and that all sorrow results from indulging

desires which ought to be suppressed,—it has branched out into a vast number of complicated and self-contradictory propositions and allegations. Its teaching has become both negative and positive, agnostic and gnostic. It passes from apparent atheism and materialism to theism, polytheism, and spiritualism. It is under one aspect mere pessimism; under another, pure philanthropy; under another, monastic communism; under another, high morality; under another, a variety of materialistic philosophy; under another, simple demonology; under another, a mere farrago of superstitions, including necromancy, witchcraft, idolatry, and fetishism. In some form or other, it may be held with almost any religion, and embraces something from almost every creed." This is an excellent statement of the various aspects of modern Buddhism, and Sir Monier has well explained his introductory statement. In such a brief notice as this, not even a sketch of the system can be given, but we earnestly advise every one to read this book at his first opportunity. It will give him an idea of Oriental belief and practice, not easily attainable elsewhere. To the student of Comparative Religion it will prove a welcome manual. We can only regret the unpardonable lack of an index.

Adelbert College.

SAMUEL B. PLATNER.

NATURE AND MAN.*—Of this volume the first one hundred and fifty pages consist of a memorial sketch of the late Dr. Carpenter, and the remainder comprises fifteen essays of his upon a variety of subjects, and ranging in date from 1838 to 1884. Both portions of the volume sufficiently prove one thing, namely, the great industry of their author and the breadth of his sympathies and researches. The early education of Dr. Carpenter was not complete, was far from what we are accustomed to call "liberal;" on the contrary, it was desultory and largely self-conducted. From the first, however, he showed himself eager in inquiry, earnest, self-reliant. He is a mere boy in age when he begins his medical studies; although, on account of an interruption in them, he does not become a member of the Royal College of Surgeons until he is twenty-two. For the life of a practicing physician he appears to have had little taste or fitness. His

* *Nature and Man*. Essays Scientific and Philosophical. By WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, with an Introductory Memoir, by J. ESTLIN CARPENTER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1889.

career as a writer opens with a paper in the *West of England Journal*, Oct., 1835, on "The Structure and Functions of the Organs of Respiration in the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms." His wonderful productiveness is evinced by the fact that during a half-century of activity as a writer, from that date, Dr. Carpenter published nearly three hundred articles, papers, and treatises of a more comprehensive kind.

The memorial sketch gives us interesting glimpses of the private life of this man, of his struggles for self-support, recognition, and influence; and of the aims which he cherished, as well as of his domestic and public characteristics. The principal official position, which Dr. Carpenter filled during the latter part of his life, was the Registrarship of the University of London. To this position he was chosen in May, 1856.

This selection of essays shows how wide in range of subjects were the researches and conclusions of their author. Besides those on the more distinctively physiological and physical subjects—such as "the Brain and its Physiology," and "the Phases of Force"—we are presented with a number on the metaphysics of physics, on psychology, and theology. Among the latter class are essays on "the Psychology of Belief," "The Force behind Nature," and the "Argument from Design in the Organic World." He felt a peculiar interest in promoting a philosophical view of biological problems.

The name of Dr. Carpenter will probably not be intimately connected in the future, with any important discovery, or special tenet in either physiology or philosophy. But his part in shaping the course of investigation and thinking upon these subjects, in their connections, was by no means unimportant. His life was very full of serious, thorough, and helpful work. And when we learn of his passion for organ-music and his skill in playing that noble instrument, of his devoted study of the New Testament, and of his teaching a class from it, in the Greek, we feel a growing admiration for such a fulness of life. To get the picture of it as it is drawn in this volume is well worth the expense of the book, and the pains required for giving it a careful reading.

PHYSIOLOGY OF THE SOUL.*—The "stand-point" of this book is clearly exposed, is even thrust forward; and its spirit and

* *The Physiology of the Soul.* By J. H. WYTHE, Professor of History, etc., in Cooper Medical College, San Francisco. New York: Hunt & Eaton. 1889.

method are mildly, but not offensively polemical. The author commends it "to his brethren in the Church and ministry" as an effort "to promote positive Christian truth." It contains six chapters on the following subjects: "The Problem of Life," "Mind and Brain," "The Physiology of Consciousness," "Automatism and Freedom," "Heredity," and "The Biblical Psychology." We sympathize heartily with the aim of the writer, but we cannot accept his views on most subjects where his treatment touches upon the sciences of biology and psychology.

For example, the "outline of argument" (as given to us by the author himself) for the first chapter is as follows: "Biological researches respecting living matter shows that it has powers or functions entirely different from non-living matter." This statement we might accept after striking out the word "entirely" and inserting the word "certain" before the words "powers and functions." "The similarity of these powers indicates similarity of nature and is a bond of unity." The meaning which Dr. Withe attaches to these words we do not understand. "The cause of these powers (the cause of the causes? of the phenomena we call "life") is inexplicable by any materialistic theory; but all living beings of which we have any scientific knowledge are certainly material structures." "The existence of a spiritual psyche in each organism manifesting itself by vital functions is sufficient explanation. The removal of the psyche or bodily death, is speedily followed by molecular death." On the contrary, we maintain that the theory of a "spiritual psyche" in every living thing explains nothing whatever, but greatly complicates our difficulties. When, for example, I cut a moving centipede in two, do I with one stroke of the knife create two "spiritual psyches" out of one, viz: a front-part psyche and a psyche of the hinder portion of the divided organism? Moreover, since as Dr. Wythe expressly admits, the merest speck of bioplasm has all these powers and functions of life, we are compelled to postulate for each such speck, animal as well as vegetable, a spiritual psyche to sit in it withal, and manifest itself by these aforesaid vital powers and functions. This certainly involves an immense multiplication of individual spiritual principles, all to assist in the explanation of certain "powers and functions," common to every living speck with every other. Since death is the removal of their psyches, every lapse of each speck of bioplasm from its vital molecular condition involves the cessation or transmigration of a soul; and

every propagation of a new cell from another cell by fission requires the creation of a spiritual psyche peculiar to it.

Our attitude of alternating assent and consent toward the propositions of the other chapters is similar to that taken toward the propositions of the chapter on the problem of life. Yet the book will have a certain interest and value for those who can read it with some independence of opinion derived from previous knowledge. This is just the class which will not, we fear, give much attention to it; while the brethren in the Church and ministry to whom it is addressed will be likely to be led by it into wrong views on matters of biological science.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY.*—"The following work," says its author, "had its beginning in a series of essays written for one of the ethico-religious periodicals of the country." It does not profess to be based upon extended examination of the sources, though it bears out the claim that "not a little original study has been given to the task." Zeller is, of course, the principal authority for the conclusions taken.

The book is well balanced and judicious; it divides the entire space appropriated to the subject (296 pages) amongst the different thinkers and eras, with an admirable regard for the real value, magnitude of influence, need of exposition, and abundance of resources, belonging to each. It would be difficult to find a better compendious treatise for beginning the study of Greek Philosophy.

DEDUCTIVE LOGIC.†—The interest in Formal Logic which is taken in the great English universities, as compared with the interest in experimental and speculative psychology, seems to us in this country somewhat remarkable. This little book aims to be as thoroughly as possible representative of the present state of logic at the Oxford Schools. It is as densely packed with distinctions and definitions as a book can well be. Under a lively and thoroughly competent teacher, who could clothe the framework with attractiveness and mental quickening, it might be successfully used as a text-book. Otherwise, the average beginner in logic would find it very dry.

* *A Brief History of Greek Philosophy.* By B. C. RURT, M.A. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1889.

† *Deductive Logic.* By ST. GEORGE STOOK, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1888.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.*—To an account of her experience in teaching a child of some five years, and an argument with Miss Youmans over the question "whether children should begin the study of botany by the flower or the leaf," Dr. Jacobi here adds a lengthy essay, already published, on the "Place for the Study of Language." The result is a stimulating and improving booklet of some 120 pages. The study of language in beginning education is deprecated—even so far as the learning to read and to write. But the study of language later on is highly commended, chiefly on psycho-physical grounds. Students of the art of teaching will find various things to criticise, both favorably and adversely, in this volume.

KEDNEY'S TREATISE ON "CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE"† embraces discussions of the whole range of problems which find place in Systematic Theology with a view to exhibiting the harmony and unity of the various Christian doctrines. It is a learned and devout treatment of the great themes of Christian thought and life. The insolubleness of many problems in theology is freely acknowledged, while, at the same time, candid efforts are made for their utmost possible elucidation. The author disclaims the method of demonstration for the establishment of theological truth and seeks to vindicate the validity of faith as a basis for its reception. While faith is to be distinguished from knowledge, it is contended that the faith which receives the Christian mysteries is a rational act and is thus "the keystone of the whole arch of Christian truth." The contents of the treatise will amply repay study, but, as is so frequently the case with such works, we find the style of the book somewhat heavy and cumbrous.

* *Physiological Notes on Primary Education and the Study of Language.* By MARY PUTNAM JACOBI, M.D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

† *Christian Doctrine Harmonized and its Rationality Vindicated.* By JOHN S. KEDNEY, D.D., Professor in Seabury Divinity School. Two vols. Pp. 383, 422. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1889.

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